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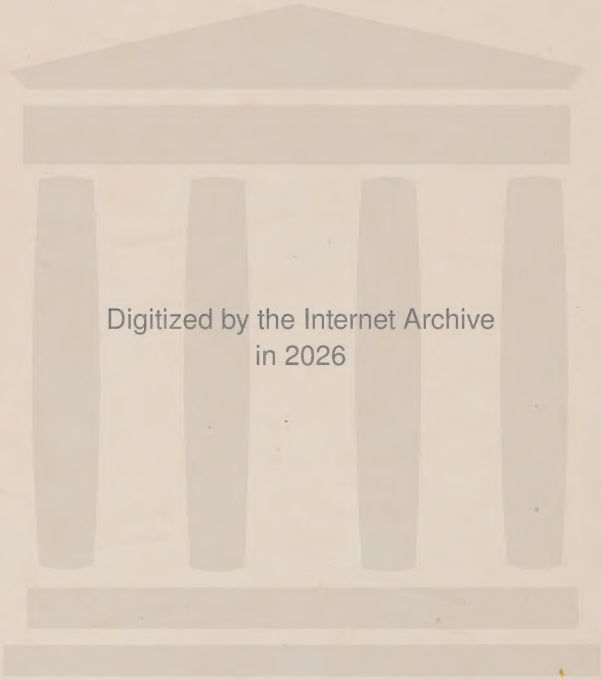

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A History of the English Church

Edited by the Very Rev. W. R. W. STEPHENS, B.D.,
Dean of Winchester,
and the Rev. WILLIAM HUNT, M.A.

I

THE ENGLISH CHURCH

FROM ITS FOUNDATION TO THE NORMAN CONQUEST

GUARDIAN.—"Indispensable to all serious students of the history of the English Church.'

A HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH

EDITED BY

THE VERY REV. W. R. W. STEPHENS

DEAN OF WINCHESTER

AND

THE REV. WILLIAM HUNT, M.A.

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THE ENGLISH CHURCH

FROM ITS FOUNDATION TO THE NORMAN CONQUEST

(597-1066)

BY

WILLIAM HUNT, M.A.

London

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WILLIAM

LORD BISHOP OF OXFORD

WHOSE UNWEARYING INDUSTRY AND BRILLIANT GENIUS

HAVE ILLUMINED THE HISTORY

ALIKE OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH AND CONSTITUTION

THIS BOOK IS

WITH HIS KIND PERMISSION

RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

AS A TOKEN OF THE AFFECTIONATE AND DUTIFUL REGARD

OF ONE OF HIS MANY FRIENDS

AND DISCIPLES

INTRODUCTION

The following pages are the first instalment of a work which I have long and anxiously desired to see undertaken. Interest in the history of the English Church has been steadily increasing of late years, since the great importance of the Church as a factor in the development of the national life and character from the earliest times has come to be more fully and clearly recognised. But side by side with this increase of interest in the history of our Church, the want has been felt of a more complete presentment of it than has hitherto been attempted. Certain portions, indeed, have been written with a fulness and accuracy that leave nothing to be desired; but many others have been dealt with, if at all, only in manuals and text-books which are generally dull by reason of excessive compression, or in sketches which, however brilliant and suggestive, are not histories. What seemed to be wanted was a continuous and adequate history in volumes of a moderate size and price, based upon a careful study of original authorities and the best ancient and modern writers. On the other hand, the mass of material which research has now placed at the disposal of the scholar seemed to render it improbable that any one would venture to undertake such a history single-handed, or that, if he did, he would live to complete it. The best way, therefore, of meeting the difficulty seemed to be a division of

labour amongst several competent scholars, agreed in their general principles, each being responsible for a period to which he has devoted special attention, and all working in correspondence through the medium of an editor or editors, whose business it should be to guard against errors, contradictions, overlapping, and repetition; but, consistency and continuity being so far secured, each writer should have as free a hand as possible. Such is the plan upon which the present history has been projected. It is proposed to carry it on far enough to include at least the Evangelical Movement in the eighteenth century. The whole work will consist of seven crown octavo books uniform in outward appearance, but necessarily varying somewhat in length and price. Each book can be bought separately, and will have its own index, together with any tables or maps that may be required.

I am thankful to have secured as my co-editor a scholar who is eminently qualified by the remarkable extent and accuracy of his knowledge to render me assistance, without which, amidst the pressure of many other duties, I could scarcely have ventured upon a work of this magnitude.

W. R. W. STEPHENS.

The Deanery, Winchester,
20th July 1899.

According to present arrangements the work will be distributed amongst the following writers:—

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PREFACE

Apart from the intrinsic value of all historical study, and the interest and profit which may be derived from it, the history of the English Church has special claims upon our consideration. Members of the Church will gather from it reasons for the loyalty and affection which their Church claims from them, and all Englishmen alike will find it a part of their national history not less necessary or less inspiring than the rest. For the English Church has exercised a profound influence on the history of the English people. It was a principal agent in the making of the nation, and has had a strong effect on its character and institutions. Without it the England of to-day would have been other than what it is. Every Englishman, probably every one of Anglo-Saxon race and speech, be his religious opinions what they may, owes something to its influence, either in the present or the past. Its early history is important, for, though in many ways it is far removed from us, the later developments of the Church, its character, claims, and existing institutions, cannot be rightly understood except by those who have studied its early years. Its history during the first four centuries and a half of its existence presents not a few difficulties, for our sources of information are not always so full as to enable the historian to picture the past with certainty. Yet there are compensations. There is much in the period which is

English Church history.

interesting and delightful, and for the first part of it we have in Bede a guide unequalled in narrative, as he is unsurpassed in the beauty of his spirit.

Down to the death of Bishop Wilfrith, in 709, the history has already been written by an eminent authority, the Rev. Canon Bright, Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford. With that exception, this book, while owing much to others, is, I believe, the first attempt to write a continuous History of the English Church before the Norman Conquest with any degree of fulness. While it is written from the standpoint of a member of the Church of England, it has not been my design either to advocate the principles of a party, or even to exalt the Church. Whether the fact that the Church held certain beliefs and enjoined certain practices a thousand and more years ago is any reason why it should do the like now, is not for me to say. Everything recorded here has been inserted either because it seemed to me necessary to my narrative or interesting in itself. It has been my earnest wish to present a thoroughly truthful picture of the Church during this period, and not to misrepresent anything. No cause seems the better for the art of the special pleader, still less for disingenuousness. Nor would the interests of the Church, even if they could be served by such methods, be so sacred to me as historic truth.

This book.

Miracles occupy a prominent place in the history of the early years of the English Church. Where it seemed necessary the belief in them has been noticed in this book. To those who deny miracles altogether as contrary to "the law of Nature," it is easy to reply by asking when that law was declared. Was it settled before the discovery of the Röntgen rays, or only the day before yesterday? Have men of science as yet brought psychological phenomena under this law? Such an answer, however,

The credibility of miracles.

entirely gives away the cause of those who accept the supernatural. Even if we had arrived at a law of Nature which was fixed and final, there would still be room for a higher law. To us, who accept the resurrection of Christ as an historical fact, miracles present no difficulty. We regard them as manifestations of a higher law than that of a creation which groans and travails in pain, a law of life triumphant over death, of righteousness over sin, of happiness over sorrow, and we call that law the Will of God. We believe that He has chosen, now and again, to assert the supremacy of that law over the law of this earthly universe, which will one day be made subject to it for ever.

Many, however, accept the miracles of the New Testament, but refuse to believe in any others. What is the authority for this limitation of God's methods of working? Are we to believe that His will was exercised in a certain way until, say, A.D. 70, and yet to condemn as superstitious the belief that it was so exercised after that date? It is sometimes asserted that there was sufficient reason for the miracles of the New Testament, and not for any of later days. He who works a miracle is the only judge of His own action; "Knowest thou the ordinances of Heaven?" And what reason have we to suppose that He who showed forth mighty works at places of small importance in the history of the world or the Church, such as Lystra, must necessarily have held His hand when the Gospel was preached to the English people, or indeed at other critical times in the history of His Church?

Does it depend on date?

Some mediæval miracles may at once be rejected as futile, or otherwise contrary to the revealed will of God. Others seem mere coincidences, interpreted by devout minds as miraculous interpositions of Divine Providence. Many do not rest on good historical evidence, and many were probably the results of the close connection between the mind and the body, and of the

Mediæval miracles.

power which certain persons have over the minds of others. For in reading the early history of our Church we shall miss much that is picturesque and important, if we fail to remember the influence which a learned churchman of ascetic life, specially if he was a foreigner, or was well acquainted with Roman civilisation, must have exercised over the minds of ignorant men, unaccustomed to self-restraint. Yet, with all necessary allowances, it is hard to see how those who accept the credibility of the miraculous can consistently refuse to believe that some mediæval miracles were genuine. For them, surely, the question must be decided, first by the character of the alleged miracle, and then by the historical evidence for it. Many miracles are recorded by Bede, and for several of them he gives us excellent authority. An historian, however, need not, as such, trouble himself with this matter. What concerns him is not the truth of an alleged miracle; it is the effect which it produced on the minds of men. For an historical fact is of value only so far as it either affected, or can be used to illustrate, the course of human progress.

Spelling of English names.

After some hesitation, I have written English names in English forms, and not in Latinised disguises. English names were not well adapted for turning into Latin. Historians writing in Latin thought it necessary to translate them because they wanted case-endings, and in translating them they often disguised them miserably. It saves confusion to write them in English, for while some have a thoroughly Latinised form, others have not. In Latin, names ending in *a* are generally feminine; in English *a* is a masculine termination. So that if Latinised forms were used, we should have, side by side, Ethelburga, for Æthelburh, denoting a woman, and Anna and Utta denoting men. Some Latinised forms are so different from the original names that it seemed preposterous to use them, specially along with names always

found in their English spelling; and some are more appropriate to legends and the calendar of holy days than to a book of history. For example, Etheldreda savours of hagiology, while Æthelthryth, whose melodious and significant name is thus disguised, was an English queen of whom we know many things historically certain.

Here, however, no attempt has been made at etymological accuracy, and letters which seemed of little importance in sound have often been left out. Nor can I claim the credit of consistency. Alfred and Bede are names too honoured in their familiar forms to be written in the comparatively unfamiliar forms of Ælfred and Bæda, and Hilda, which is still with us, and therefore cannot be confused with a masculine name, has been retained for the Abbess of Whitby, in place of Hild. The spelling of names, indeed, seems to me to be a matter of little importance in an historical work. Though it is well to write Charles the Great, in order to mark that the Frankish emperor was a German, it is well also to call him Charlemagne, because that form helps the reader to identify him. My spelling of English names has been adopted from a sense, possibly mistaken, of its fitness, and for the sake of convenience, and not with any idea that it is obligatory on an historian. How spelt here.

It may be well to note that *Æ* in names beginning with *Æthel-* and *Ælf-* should be sounded simply as our open *a*, as in cat. The modern forms Alfred and Athelstan, then, so far answer to the sound, while Ethelred and Elfrida are merely Latinisms. *Ea-*, if long, as in Eadburh, should, Professor Skeat kindly informs me, be sounded with the stress on the former element, and much as the word *payer* with the *p* left out. However, the exact value of the *Ea-* seems uncertain, and so a reader may as well sound it as he finds it easiest. When the *ea* is short, as in the second syllable of Eadweard, the sound could not have been very far from that of our *a*, and so here the name Their pronunciation.

has been written Eadward. *C* should be sounded hard like *K*, except in names in which *Ce* is followed by a vowel, as in Ceadda, when it is sounded *Ch*. Mr. W. S. M'Cormick, Professor of English Literature at Dundee, has been good enough to point out to me that vowels should be sounded as in German. Names which in early days terminated in *i* are in this book spelt as in later A.S., with an *e*. The final *e* should always be sounded; Godwine is a name of three, Wine and Bise names of two syllables.

In the lists of authorities no attempt has been made at bibliographical fulness. When a book is mentioned for the first time, I have added the place and date of publication, or the name of the series to which it belongs, in order that the reader may easily identify it, if he wishes to consult it for himself. I owe much to the books of others, and hope that my obligations are sufficiently acknowledged in my lists of authorities. One helper I have had to whom my thanks must be expressed here also. My friend, the Rev. Charles Plummer, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, the editor of Bede's Historical Works and the Saxon Chronicle, whose knowledge of early English history is unequalled, has most generously given me the benefit of his learning and criticism, and has read my proofs to the advantage of my book in all respects. The kindly interest and help of another friend would also demand acknowledgment, did not his name appear on the first page.

Thanks for help.

W. HUNT.

KENSINGTON,
July 31, 1899.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

Before the English Church was founded there were two Churches in this island which were destined to be brought into widely different relations with it,—the British Church, to which it owed nothing, and the Church of an Irish people called the Scots, to which it owed much. As we shall often meet with references to these Churches in the early chapters of this book, it will be well, before entering on our proper subject, to clear the ground by an introductory notice of them.

Christianity was probably brought into Britain between the years 176 and 208; for Irenæus, writing in 176 of the number of Christian lands, does not mention Britain, while Tertullian, writing about 208, the year of the expedition of Severus against the tribes of the North, says, somewhat rhetorically, that the Gospel had found its way into parts of Britain which were closed to the Romans. It doubtless came hither from Gaul, and its coming may well have been a result of the persecution which, in 177, fell upon the Christians of Lyons and Vienne and the country about them, for there are many traces of a close connection between the Churches of Gaul and Britain and some indications of a special connection between Britain and the Churches of Lyons and Vienne. The British Church was untouched by the Diocletian persecution of 304. There was a distinct tradition, existing, probably, as early as 429, that a martyr named Alban suffered at Verulamium, and there is no reason for rejecting the story; but the assertion that the martyrdom took place in Diocletian's time must be merely a later guess. The

The British Church.

names of some other martyrs are mentioned, but not on good authority. The Church had an episcopal organisation. The names of three bishops, holding the sees of London, York, and "Colonia Londinensium," probably Lincoln, and of the priest and deacon who attended them are recorded with those of the Gallican bishops who took part in the Council of Arles in 314. There, among other matters, they must have agreed that Easter should be kept at one date which was to be communicated to the different Churches by the Bishop of Rome. The Church was orthodox, and accepted the creed and canons of the Council of Nicæa (325), where an arrangement was made settling the date of Easter for the Catholic Church. Some bishops from Britain were at the Council of Rimini in 359, which was forced by the Emperor Constantius to surrender the full declaration of the truth made in the Nicene creed, but the Church remained sound in the faith and in sympathy with Athanasius. It seems to have been poor, for at Rimini three of its bishops accepted the Emperor's allowance on account of poverty. Towards the end of the century it fell into some disorder. Dissensions arose, apparently on a matter of faith, and about 396 Victricius, Bishop of Rouen, was invited over to make peace. His efforts were successful; he strengthened the weak, and persuaded, or compelled, the rebellious to obedience. In the fourth century, then, the British Church in no way differed from the Catholic Church either in faith or practice. It was not isolated, and its connection with the Gallican Church was close and beneficial. Nor was this all; for, like the Christians of other lands, Britons went on pilgrimages to Rome, and even to Palestine, where they shared in the hospitality of the noble Melania, who had built a house for consecrated virgins and a hostel for pilgrims on Mount Olivet, and where they joined the crowd of worshippers at the Cave of the Nativity at Bethlehem, were entertained at the hostel founded by Paula and her daughter Eustochium, and must have seen the great Jerome. Others seem to have joined the company of monks gathered round St. Martin, the Bishop of Tours, who was regarded with special reverence both in Britain and Ireland. His monks dwelt, some in huts and some in the caves which may still be seen in the rocky hill above Marmoutier, the

descendant of St. Martin's monastery. A Briton named Ninias, or St. Ninian, a native probably of Strathclyde, who was perhaps one of Martin's disciples, desired to spread the Gospel in the land of his birth; he was ordained bishop by Pope Siricius and returned to Britain to preach to the Picts. He built a church of stone on the shore of Wigton Bay, like the churches he had seen in Rome, and it is said that as he was building it he heard of Martin's death in 397, and dedicated the church to his memory. The whiteness of the stone church struck eyes used only to wooden buildings, and so the place was called "Candida casa," the White house, or Whitern. It became a resort of saints and scholars from Britain and Ireland. The preaching of Ninian led the Picts of Galloway and also those to the south of the Grampians to accept Christianity.

St. Ninian.

Hitherto the British Church had stood in the same relations to Rome and its bishop as the rest of Christendom. In 410 the Roman dominion in Britain came to an end, and before very long wars within the island, invasions, and conquest by the Saxons and Angles, cut it off from communication with Rome and, with one exception, the continent generally. The severance was not immediate, and once more the Church owed its well-being to a mission from Gaul. Britain produced an heresiarch of its own in the person of Pelagius, who seems to have studied in the East. He did not preach in Britain himself; his heresy concerning man's free-will was brought there by one of his disciples named Agricola, and was widely accepted. Prosper, who was in Rome about the time, tells us that Pope Celestine, acting on the advice of his deacon Palladius—was Palladius a Briton?—sent Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus, Bishop of Troyes, to Britain to recall the Church to orthodoxy. They came over in 429, and refuted the heretics at a conference at Verulamium. Then, according to the legend of the "Alleluia Victory," Germanus led the Britons against an invading host of Saxons and Picts. As the heathen advanced, he and Lupus bade their little army meet them with a shout of Alleluia. At the sound of the shout the invaders turned and fled, and the Britons are said to have won a complete and bloodless victory. A second visit from Germanus completed

The mission of St. Germanus.

the repression of Pelagianism in Britain Some years later there is evidence that the Church still followed the directions of Rome, for in 455 it received and obeyed a command of Leo the Great as to the right date of Easter. At that time Teutonic invasions of Britain were in progress, and soon cut the Church off from communication with Rome. With one part of Gaul a close connection was maintained. Armorica, the present Brittany, was colonised by Britons who fled from the sword of the Saxons, and saints and scholars constantly passed to and fro between the greater and the lesser Britain. As the Armorican Church was subject to the see of Tours, the church of St. Martin, it might have formed a link connecting the British Church with the Churches of Gaul and Rome. But in 502 the Franks claimed dominion over Armorica, and the British churchmen there, indignant at this second Teutonic invasion, withdrew their obedience from Tours, and adopted a policy of isolation.

The British Church in the sixth century.

Gildas gives us a picture of the Church in Britain about a century after it was cut off from Rome. He wrote a little before 550, when the Teutonic conquest had made much progress, and what he says certainly applies to Wales, and probably to all the as yet unconquered land west of the Severn, to the kingdom of Damnonia, or Devon, Cornwall, and part of Somerset, and though he tells us nothing about the Britons between the Dee and the Clyde, his notices of the Church may be taken as applicable there also. We must not lay stress on all he says in his "Querulous Book" about the wickedness of his contemporaries, for we know that he was by no means the one righteous man left, and that many famous British bishops and scholars lived in his time. He shows us a Church with a diocesan episcopate, with bishops who were then rich and powerful, and claimed succession from St. Peter and the other apostles, and with a clergy of the two other sacred orders. The Church was governed by synods, but discipline was lax and simony was rife. There were monks living under a vow and observing monastic decrees; indeed, we know that there were many British monasteries which were abodes of learning, some of them with so vast a number of monks as to remind us of the monasteries of the Thebaid, and there were virgins and

widows vowed to chastity. Clerical marriage seems to have been common, though, as in all lands where monasticism flourished, there was a feeling against it, and in favour of married bishops and priests abstaining from conjugal intercourse. The only differences noted by Gildas between the Roman and the British Churches are that in ordination the Britons used a lectionary of their own, and that they anointed the hands of those to be ordained. Their Church was certainly not at that time in conscious schism from Rome.

When, however, in 602 the British Church was again brought into communication with Rome in the person of Augustine, other differences are discerned. Chief among these was a difference as to the date on which Easter was kept. In early days the Church of St. John at Ephesus, and other Asian Churches of Jewish Christians, kept Easter on the fourteenth day of the first month, the day of the Passover, whatever day of the week that might be, while the Gentile Churches kept the feast always on a Lord's Day in memory of Christ's resurrection, and called those who did not do so "Quartodecimans" (Fourteenth men). The Britons followed the practice of the Western Church generally in keeping their Paschal feast only on the Lord's Day; and therefore when their opponents called them "Quartodecimans" they used the term incorrectly and merely as an expression of contempt. By the Council of Nicæa it was ordained that all Catholics should keep the Paschal feast on the Lord's Day, and never on the same day as the passover, so that if the fourteenth day of the moon fell on a Sunday, Easter in that year was to be celebrated on the Sunday following; and it was arranged that the date should be calculated at Alexandria and communicated by the patriarch to the Bishop of Rome that he might inform other Churches of it. The British Church followed the orders of Rome on this matter down to 455, when it was cut off from communication with Rome, and then its isolation led to a threefold divergence as to the date of the feast, which was determined by the full moon of the first month of the year, that is to say the month in which the full moon occurred on, or after, the vernal equinox. In order to avoid keeping Easter on the Jews' passover, Rome, followed by the Western

Differences from Roman usage. Date of Easter.

Church generally, rejected the fourteenth day of the moon, even if a Sunday, and kept Easter on the Sunday occurring between the fifteenth and twenty-first days inclusive; while the Britons, apparently misled by an error in an old Roman computation, or "table to find Easter," kept their Easter on the fourteenth day, if a Sunday, and made the twentieth day the limit of the week on which it could fall. Accordingly, when the fourteenth day was a Sunday there was just a week between the Roman and Celtic Easters, for the Britons kept their Easter on that day, but the Romans not till the Sunday following. Again, the Britons placed the vernal equinox on March 25, the Romans on March 21, so that when the full moon occurred between those dates the British Easter was a whole lunar month later than the Roman. Lastly, there was a difference in the computation, or cycles, according to which Easter was calculated for coming years. In spite of the Nicene arrangement, Rome adopted a system of computation different from that of Alexandria, and for some time used a cycle of eighty-four years, corrected it in 457, and finally, in 525, adopted a cycle of nineteen years, which brought its calculations into harmony with those of Alexandria. The British Church, however, being cut off from Rome by political events, did not follow these changes, and continued to use the old cycle of eighty-four years. A second difference concerned the rite of baptism. What this was is not known; it may be that the Britons immersed once only, and not thrice as the Romans did. A third point was the shape of the tonsure; while the Roman clergy shaved a round spot on the top of the head, round which the hair grew like a crown, the Britons shaved the whole front of the head from a line drawn from ear to ear, letting the hair grow down behind, a fashion which was doubtless a survival of the tonsure of the Druids, the magicians of the Celts. There were also minor differences; the Britons are believed to have used some prayers in the order of the mass not used at Rome, their churches were usually called after their living founders instead of being dedicated to saints already dead, and they appear to have neglected the rule laid down by the Council of Nicæa that three bishops should combine in conferring

Baptism, the tonsure, etc.

episcopal consecration. The differences concerning the date of Easter and the form of the tonsure were of great importance during the early days of the English Church.

The other pre-Anglican Church of which it will be necessary to say something here is the Scottish Church. Its native land was Scotia or Ireland, where the Scots were the dominant race. At the end of the fifth century a colony of Christian Scots from the north-west of Ireland founded a kingdom called Dalriada between Loch Linnhe and Loch Long, and from them Scotland ultimately took its name. Avoiding the difficult questions, as well as the beautiful legends, connected with St. Patrick, we need only note that he was a native of Britain, that he studied in Gaul, that he was perhaps, as some maintain, a disciple of St. Martin of Tours, and that he evangelised Ireland. During the missionary period the number of bishops in Ireland was very great; for in early days evangelisation was chiefly carried on by bishops, and it is probable that wherever Patrick obtained leave from the chief of a sept to build a church, he put a bishop there. When this first age of the Church ended about 534, a period began during which religion was revived and strengthened by monasticism; churches served by secular clergy gave place to monasteries, and the Church at large was organised on a monastic basis. A close connection was formed with the British Church, and the Scots "received a mass," or a liturgy, from the Britons David, Gildas, and Cadoc, whom they accepted as teachers. Many monasteries were established which became great schools of religious learning, such as that founded by St. Finnian at Clonard, where there were three thousand students at a time, and whence came the "Twelve Apostles of Ireland." The most famous of these twelve was St. Columba, a great-grandson of Niall of the Nine Hostages, the over-king of Ireland. His baptismal name was Colum (a dove), and he was called Colum-cille, because when he was a lad he was so often in the "cell," or oratory, where he used to read his psalter, that the children of the place who loved him would say, "Has our little Colum come out of the cell to-day?" Lovable and tender-hearted he always was, hating

The Church of the Scots.

St. Columba, 521?-597.

all oppression and wrong. His soul was full of poetic feelings, which he strengthened before entering St. Finnian's monastery by becoming a pupil of an aged bard. His influence was great, and he founded monasteries at Derry, Durrow, Kells, and elsewhere. It is true that he did not in all things follow the teaching of Christ, which had not yet subdued the violence of the society round him, and in spite of his holiness he was a man of his time. Like his fellow-countrymen, he was prone to anger and resentment, and more than once was concerned in warfare. He had copied without the owner's leave a book belonging to St. Finnian, the head of the famous monastic school at Moville. Finnian claimed the copy, and Diarmit, King of Ireland, decided on the principle of "whose is the cow, his is the calf," that the "son-book" belonged to Finnian. Moved by this and other causes of offence, Columba arrayed his tribe in battle against the king. During the fight he prayed for the success of his people, and they gained a complete victory. Two years later he engaged in a nobler warfare; for in 563 he left Ireland with twelve of his monks to preach to his fellow-Scots in British Dalriada, where religion had fallen into decay, and to the heathen Picts who dwelt near them. The King of Dalriada granted him the little island of Hii, or Iona, off the coast of Mull, and there he founded a monastery which became a centre of gospel light and religious learning. Thence the Scots of Dalriada received fresh teaching, and thence Columba went in person on a mission to the northern Picts; he overcame their Druids by what seemed to them a mightier magic, and, during nine years more or less spent among them, converted them and their King Brude to Christianity. Thence, too, at a later time, came holy men to whose labours the English Church was deeply indebted.

Ireland lay outside the limits of the Roman empire of which the pope was the spiritual chief, it was remote from Rome and, indeed, from all countries except Britain. When the British Church was cut off from communication with Rome in the fifth century, the Church in Ireland shared its isolation, and, while catholic in doctrine, had a singularly independent development. In the seventh century, as we shall see, its holy men, while expressing some reverence for

Rome, would not give up the customs of their own Church at the pope's bidding. They agreed with the Britons on the Easter question, in wearing the Celtic tonsure, and on other points also differed from Roman usage. Their Church is sometimes confused with the British Church; it was radically different from it in organisation. The British Church was organised on the basis of a diocesan episcopate; the organisation of the Scottish Church was monastic. A great Scottish monastery had many monasteries and churches dependent on it. There were many Columbite monasteries in Ireland, and all of them were dependent on the monastery of Iona, which governed the Church of the Scots of Dalriada and the northern Picts, and also the mission which it sent into England. It was ruled by a priest-abbot to whom implicit obedience was paid, and who was assisted in matters of government by a council of senior monks. The abbacy generally remained in the family of the founder-abbot; nine of the first eleven successors of Columba at Iona were members of his house, and the Columbite abbot was reverenced as the co-arb, or heir, of the founder. Bishops resided in the monastery, and though respected in virtue of their office were, equally with the other monks, subject to the jurisdiction of the abbot. They were employed by the abbot and his council to perform episcopal functions such as ordination and the dedication of churches, and as missionaries in the foundation of a new Christian province. Their acts were done on behalf of the monastic community, and on the responsibility of the abbot.

Monastery of Iona, founded 563.

Columba's monastery in Iona contained a hundred and fifty monks. It was enclosed by a rampart of earth, or earth and stones, the church, refectory, and other buildings for use in common were, in Columba's time, constructed of wood, and each monk had his own cell, either a wattle hut, or a circular building of rough stones so set as to give it a bee-hive or domical shape. These cells stood in a little court. Columba himself had a cell made of planks on the highest part of the ground, and there he spent his time when at the monastery for the most part in writing. Life in Iona was ordered in accordance with general monastic discipline, not by any distinct rule. All things were common, a monk had absolutely nothing of

his own. Chastity and humility were cultivated with a zeal equal to that of the Fathers of the Egyptian deserts. Before strangers the monks spoke little, though they talked freely amongst themselves; they held almsgiving of much account; their hospitality was ungrudging. Strangers were welcomed by the abbot with a kiss, and fasts were relaxed in their honour. Every day psalms were sung at the canonical hours, the recitation of the psalter, which they learnt by heart, being a leading feature in their devotions. When not at prayer the monks were employed either in manual labour, fishing, milking, churning, baking, or cultivating the land, or in reading and writing. No time was wasted. They read the Bible chiefly, and also some other religious books. They transcribed much, the elder monks probably doing little else. Magnificent examples of books written and illuminated by Scottish monks are still extant, but such fine work as they exhibit was hardly done until a later period than Columba's time. The appointed fasts were not excessive, but in the asceticism of the most devout of the monks there was a strong tendency to exaggeration. Columba himself, for example, would sometimes recite the whole psalter at night standing immersed in the sea. Full of love to God and to one another, and ever occupied in devotion or in useful work, the monks of Iona afforded their wild neighbours a noble pattern of Christian life. Among them were two "Saxons," Genereus and Pilu, the first-fruits of the English race gathered into the garner of the Lord. When in future chapters we come across Columbite missionaries in England this imperfect sketch of the settlement in Iona may prevent us from meeting them as strangers.

Columba's life in Iona lasted for thirty-four years. The account of his last hours on earth tells us something of his character, and illustrates the sympathy that existed between him and the animal creation. Of this sympathy, one of the most beautiful proofs of a loving heart, there are many examples in the history of monks of all races, though it was perhaps specially conspicuous among the monks of the Scottish Church. Columba had become very weak, and knew that his end was near. Accompanied by his constant attendant Diarmit, he walked as far as the

St. Columba's death, 597.

nearest barn of the monastery, where the winnowed corn lay in two great heaps, that he might bless the grain and give thanks that, though he might be gone from them, his family would have enough for another year. On his way back his strength failed; he sat down by the way-side to rest, and as he sat there an old white horse which carried the milk from the cow-sheds to the monastery came up to him, put his head against the abbot's breast, and wept and moaned like a human being. When Diarmit would have driven it away, Columba forbade him saying, "Let him alone, let him weep against my breast, for it is for love of me." He gathered strength, ascended a little hill whence he could look down upon his monastery and blessed it. On returning to his cell he went on with his work of transcribing the psalter. He wrote the verse, "They who love the Lord shall not want anything that is good," and then said, "Here I must stop, Baithene must write the rest." Baithene was his cousin; he had brought him up as his adopted son, and seems by these words to have designated him as his successor. In the evening he attended vespers. When the service was over he went back to his cell and, sitting on the stone bench which he used as a bed, spoke his last words to his monks. Again, at midnight, he went to the church for matins, and there, stretched before the altar, he died in the presence of his monks on June 9, 597. Eight days before his death the first Christian king of English race was baptized at Canterbury.

In the middle of the fifth century Britain was invaded by three kindred Teutonic peoples,—the Saxons, Angles, and Jutes, whom it will be convenient to call by their collective name of English. The progress of conquest was slow, and, while the invaders remained heathens, was accompanied by much bloodshed, specially when the Britons of a town made a vigorous resistance. It is, however, easy to exaggerate the exterminating character of the conquest even during that period; and there is reason to believe that in the districts that were conquered at an early date many of the native British population lived on, some as unfree cultivators of the soil, others in absolute slavery, and

Invasion of Britain, 449?

others in independence, and more or less in wretchedness, sheltered by swamps and forests. The mass of the survivors were gradually driven to take refuge in the more remote and mountainous districts of the island. Priests fled with their people, and the churches, save a few that were built of stone, must have quickly perished. After the English were converted, the character of the conquest was completely changed, and conquered Britons lived peacefully side by side with their conquerors.

Paganism of the Invaders.

The religion of the invaders was a branch of the common paganism of the Teutons. Its principal elements appear to have been nature-worship and the love of battles. As soon as a people adopts agricultural life, it feels the need of the help of natural forces, and marks the seasons by religious observances. Accordingly the chief festivals of the pagan English were held at the summer and winter solstices, at midsummer and yule-tide, at the vernal equinox which seems to have been connected with the worship of Eostra (Easter), the goddess of the radiant dawn, and at the autumnal equinox when the harvest was ended. Some of their deities have given names to the days of the week. Besides the days of the sun and moon, we have the day of Tiu, the giver of victory, represented by the clear sky; of Woden, originally the sun-god, the creative power, the world-ruler and arranger of battles; of Thunor, the sender of thunder and storm; of Frigg, the consort of Woden, the lovable one; and perhaps of a god named Sætere, of whom nothing seems to be known certainly. They also worshipped Erda (earth), the mother of men; Freá, the god of fruitfulness and love, the giver of rain and sunshine; and Hreda, the revengeful goddess who gave her name to a month corresponding to our March. Fire and water were objects of reverence; the "need fire" kindled by the priest and not derived from other fire, and water freshly drawn from a spring, had a peculiar sanctity. The holy wells of later days are a survival of this water-worship. All royal lines derived their descent from Woden; and the royal genealogies preserve the names of some lesser divinities, such as Scild (shield), and Sceaf (sheaf), a youth who came to land asleep in a boat without a rower, and with his head crowned with a corn-sheaf,

a personification of the adoption of tillage, and the origin of the "corn-baby" that not long ago was still made in parts of England at harvest-time. In the second century some at least of the German tribes had neither idols nor temples, and used forests or groves as the places of their worship. There is abundant proof that the pagan English had idols and temples, which were always surrounded by a sacred grove. Some trees were held specially sacred, such as the oak and the ash from which one of the early Kentish kings took his name.

As throughout Europe generally, the horse was regarded with religious feelings, and may perhaps have been adopted as a totem, for of old the neighings of the war-horse were noted as omens, the two Jutish chiefs of the first invasion were named Hengist and Horsa (stallion and horse), a priest might not ride except on a mare, and the eating of horse-flesh was a pagan rite. Other survivals of totemism appear in the abstention from hare's flesh, and in sacrifices of white bulls, boars, and other animals. Besides the greater gods and the deified heroes, among whom we must not forget Weland, the wise smith, elves, dwarfs, and water-sprites, mischievous beings of other than human nature, were believed to have power to do harm. The English were much addicted to the practice of magical arts, to white magic, such as attempts to cure diseases by spells and appeals to natural powers, women, for example, placing their sick daughters under the influence of fire or on the house-tops; to sympathetic magic for the bringing of rain and the like; and to black magic by which they sought to injure their enemies by incantations, and other means of the same kind. The early Christian missionaries owed something of their success to miracles which seemed to the beholders to be proofs of a magic more powerful than their own. The mysteries of life and death exercised the minds of the English, and their ideas of a future life appear to have been confused and to some extent gloomy. At least towards the end of the sixth century their religion no longer satisfied their needs. This is evident from the rapidity with which Christianity made its way among them and from the zeal with which it was adopted; it is shown most clearly in the story of the conversion of Northumbria, and is distinctly stated by Pope Gregory the Great. The English

were in close neighbourhood with Christianity in the north and west, and traders from Christian Gaul were often in their eastern ports. They knew that there was light among other nations, and must have been dimly conscious that they sat in darkness and the shadow of death. But no one cared to bring them light; no bishop from Gaul was minded to risk his life among the fierce pagans across the sea, and no British priest would preach the Gospel to the conquerors of his own people; the hatred that the Britons felt for the invaders was too bitter for that. British churchmen thought that they had done all their duty with respect to them, when in a synod held at Llanddewi they ordained a heavy penance for the sin of acting as guide to "the barbarians." The very speech of the Saxons was loathsome to them, for it reminded them of their wrongs. When the abbot Beuno was dwelling with his monks at Berriew, he one day heard a Saxon calling to his dogs, and said to his disciples, "Let us depart hence straightway, for this man speaks a language that is hateful to me; his nation has come to invade our land, and will keep it for ever."

Britons and Saxons.

Nevertheless the Gospel was brought to the English. Before it came to them, events had happened that prepared a way for it. By the latter part of the sixth century the conquest of a large part of Britain had been achieved; there was no danger that the Britons would regain what they had lost and sweep the intruders from their land; the conquerors had settled down in their new possessions, and had begun to strive among themselves for supremacy. The first English king who succeeded in gaining a supremacy over the kings of his race south of the Humber, was Æthelbert, King of Kent. During the first thirty-three years of his reign he established a superiority over the East Anglians, the Mercians of the Trent valley, the South Saxons, the East Saxons, and even over the West Saxons who had once overthrown him in battle, but had since become much weakened. Beyond the Humber, the far-stretching kingdom of Northumbria, formed by the union of the kingdoms of Deira and Bernicia, was too remote and too fully engaged in extending its borders in the north to be a menace to his power. From the Humber to the Channel Æthelbert had no rival. His

Way prepared for the Gospel.

own kingdom was naturally in constant communication with Gaul, which was under the dominion of the Franks, a kindred Teutonic people, and as their kings were far more powerful than a king of Kent, he must have felt his importance increased when he married Bertha, a daughter of Charibert, the King of Paris. The Franks held the Catholic faith, and Bertha was the daughter of a pious mother, Ingoberg, one of the queens of Charibert, who was a man of evil life. Her family only consented to her marriage with Æthelbert on condition that she should be allowed the free exercise of her religion, and when she came to her husband, she brought with her as her chaplain, a Frankish bishop named Liudhard, who is said, though not on good authority, to have been Bishop of Senlis. Æthelbert kept his word, and allowed her to use a church which had been built in the Roman times, and stood a little to the east of his royal city of Canterbury. It was, and still is, dedicated to St. Martin, the Bishop of Tours. There Bertha worshipped undisturbed, and though she appears not to have made any effort to convert her husband until a later time, both he and his people were, doubtless, influenced in favour of Christianity by her example.

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CHAPTER II

THE ROMAN MISSION

Gregory the Great, *circ.* 540-604.

THE English first received the Gospel directly from Rome, and, though men of another race for a time carried on the work begun by the Roman missionaries, our forefathers owed their evangelisation to the apostolic zeal of the greatest of the popes. Among the citizens of Rome the young prætor Gregory was conspicuous for his noble birth and great wealth. He was the son of pious parents, and, though he lived magnificently, his heart was not set on earthly things. Like many others of his time who saw the hand of God in the afflictions of Italy, he renounced the world and became a monk. He founded six monasteries in Sicily, where probably he had large estates, and one in Rome, in his own house on the western corner of the Cœlian hill, which he dedicated to St. Andrew, and ruled himself. From the summit of the flight of steps in front of the church of St. Gregory the Great there lie before you a multitude of monuments that recall the splendours of imperial Rome; but you will find no spot which should more deeply move the heart of the traveller of Anglo-Saxon race than that on which you stand, for thence went forth the feet of those who brought to our fathers the glad tidings of salvation. Near by, a little chapel represents the "dining-room of the poor" where Gregory each day fed and waited on twelve poor men, and where, legend says, he once found thirteen at his table, and that day entertained an angel. He employed all his revenues in God's service, and his fellow-citizens, before whom he used to appear clad in silk and

decked with jewels, were amazed to see him walk through the streets of Rome in the rough woollen cowl of a monk. Benedict I. made him one of the seven regionary deacons of Rome, and appointed him his *apocrisiarius*, or standing ambassador, to represent him at the imperial court at Constantinople, where he was also employed in the same capacity by Pelagius II., who succeeded Benedict in 578. At Constantinople he doubtless heard much talk about missionary enterprise, for in the sixth century the Gospel was preached by Eastern monks of an unorthodox persuasion in Persia, India, and China.

After his return to his monastery in or about 585, it happened, according to an ancient tradition treasured alike in Northumbria and at Canterbury, that while passing through one of the market-places of Rome he saw among the bales of foreign goods some slave-boys brought thither for sale by a merchant, most likely a Jew, for the trade in slaves was largely carried on by Jews. The boys were English, and had a full share of the beauty for which their people, then of unmixed Teutonic race, was famous on the continent, they had handsome faces, fair skins, and glorious yellow hair. Gregory's heart went out towards the lads whose beauty was in such sharp contrast with their sad lot. He stopped, and the blue-eyed young barbarians must have seen, perhaps for the first time since they were carried off from their native land, a look of tender pity bent upon them, as there stood before them a man of gentle aspect and sallow face, with a broad high forehead, bald on the temples, dark hair, a small beard, and with hands of aristocratic fineness though with fingers rounded at the tips as those of a ready writer. He asked the trader of their religion, and when he was told that they were heathens sighed deeply and said, "Alas! that the prince of darkness should claim such bright faces. What," he asked, "is their race?" "They are Angles," was the answer. "That is well," he said, "for they have angels' faces, and should be fellow-heirs with the angels in heaven. And from what province come they?" "Their people," the trader said, "are Deirans." "Good," he replied, "Deirans, called from wrath (de ira) to the mercy of Christ; and what is their king's

The English slave-boys.

name?" He was told that it was Ælle, and playing on the name said, "His people must learn to sing Alleluia to God their Creator." He went to the pope and begged to be allowed to go as a missionary to the English. Pelagius consented, and he started on his journey. When, however, the Romans heard that he had left the city, a crowd burst in on the pope crying, "Thou hast offended Peter and ruined Rome in letting Gregory depart"; for it was a time of trouble, and they could not spare one who was so wise and good. So Gregory was fetched back before he had gone far.

On the death of Pelagius in 590 Gregory was elected to succeed him. Rome was suffering from pestilence and famine. The new pope ordained penitential processions to beseech God to turn away His wrath from the city, and lavished his own and his Church's wealth in feeding the poor. A little later the Lombards threatened Rome, which was left virtually defenceless by the emperor. From the walls Gregory could see the unhappy Romans who dwelt outside the city led away into slavery, with ropes round their necks like dogs. He saved the city first by his policy, and then by encouraging the Catholic queen of Agilulf to bring her Arian husband to accept the true faith. As patriarch of the West, a position which his successors owed largely to his zeal and wisdom, he had upon him the care of many Churches. His secular cares, too, were many, for, deserted by the emperor, Rome and its territory looked up to the pope as to a sovereign, and Gregory's defence of them was the noble beginning of the temporal power of the papacy. The mass of the Roman people depended on him for daily bread; he declared that his Church held its wealth for the good of the poor, and he fully carried out his doctrine. Nor were his alms given without his personal direction. In the midst of his manifold cares, and of sickness that was often heavy upon him, he writes about the allowance to be made to a blind shepherd, insists on a sick clerk receiving his full stipend, directs the redemption of captives, and the help to be given to orphans, and sends a letter to one of his vicegerents ordering him to defend the cause of a certain poor widow in the secular

Gregory the Great, Pope, 590-604.

courts, and so in many another case of distress. His compassionate heart was not likely to forget his meeting with the English slave-boys, and he longed to enlighten the darkness of their people. Often he would talk with his monks of his hopes for the conversion of the English, and wrote about them to one of his friends, Eulogius, Bishop of Alexandria, a valiant champion of the faith, who urged him to carry out a plan which he had formed of sending missionaries to them, and promised to pray for the success of the mission. Fully aware of the value of native teachers in missionary work, Gregory wrote to his agent in Gaul directing him to buy any English slave-lads of seventeen or eighteen years who were being taken through the country, and to forward them to him that he might have them taught in his monasteries, in order that they might in time preach to their fellow-countrymen.

About the same time that he wrote this letter he took the more decisive step advocated by Eulogius, and sent Augustine, the prior, as we may call him, of St. Andrew's, with a large party of the monks to preach to the English. They set out in the fourteenth year of the Emperor Maurice, which began on August 13, 595, and probably left Rome in the early spring of 596. They rested a while at the monastery founded nearly two centuries before by St. Honorat on the isle of Lerins, a stronghold of Christian learning, which had supplied Southern Gaul with many of its most illustrious bishops, and thence went on to Aix, in Provence, where they were kindly received by the Patrician Arigius. There, however, they pondered on the difficulties that lay before them; they were told that the English were a fierce people, and they were afraid, for they could not speak or understand their language, and they thought of the length and the dangers of the journey and of the chances of failure. Yielding to fear and a natural shrinking from hardships, they sent Augustine back to Rome to beg that they might be relieved from their mission. When he returned to them he brought with him a letter from Gregory dated July 23, 596, in which the pope exhorted them to persevere in their work, for it had been given them by God, and, if their labour was heavy, He would requite it with a

The mission of St. Augustine.

far more exceeding weight of everlasting glory. He had strengthened Augustine's resolution, and bade them obey him as their abbot. Gregory had not, perhaps, at first been fully aware of the difficulties of the journey, and when sending Augustine back, gave him letters of commendation to the bishops of the chief cities of Gaul through which he and his party might have to pass, and to some other powerful persons. He wrote to Theodoric, King of Orleans and Burgundy, who held his court at Châlon-sur-Saône, to his elder brother Theodebert, King of Austrasia, and to their grandmother Brunhild, who dwelt with Theodebert at Metz, requesting them to allow Augustine to take with him some Frankish priests to act as interpreters. His request seems to show that at that time there could not have been any great difference in speech between the English and Franks, for as these interpreters were priests, the suggestion that their knowledge of English was the result of commerce does not appear satisfactory. Encouraged by Gregory's exhortation, the missionaries again set forward on their journey through Gaul, and received hospitality and help from the bishops to whom they presented the pope's letters, from Theodoric and Theodebert, and from Clothair II., who was then reigning in Paris under the tutelage of his mother Fredegond. Their journey took a long time, and they must have made some stay at the cities which they visited. They wintered in Gaul, and it was not until after the Easter of 597 that they arrived in England.

The landing of Augustine, 597.

They landed in the isle of Thanet, probably at Ebbsfleet, where, according to tradition, "the three keels" that bore Hengist and his followers touched land a century and a half before. Thanet was part of the kingdom of Kent, and Gregory probably sent Augustine and his companions thither expecting that Queen Bertha's influence would cause her husband Æthelbert to receive them favourably. He had been informed that the English were desirous of hearing the Gospel, and he blamed the bishops of Gaul for having made no effort for their conversion. He had probably gained his information from Frankish ambassadors who would have told him of Bertha's marriage to the King of Kent. Augustine's party is said to have been forty in number, not reckoning probably

the Frankish interpreters. Among them were Laurentius, who is markedly described as a priest, and had perhaps received priest's orders as a monk, probably Honorius, Peter, John, and other monks from the monastery of St. Andrew. As soon as he had landed, Augustine sent one of his Frankish interpreters to Æthelbert, saying that men had come from Rome to bring him good tidings, and the promise of an everlasting kingdom with the living God. In answer, the king bade the strangers stay in Thanet, where their wants should be supplied, until he should determine what should be done; for the English kings did not decide important questions without the advice of their nobles and gesiths, or thegns, as their personal followers were called. A few days later, he and his thegns crossed the Wantsum, then a broad river, to Thanet, in order to hear what the strangers had to say. As they came as servants of a God other than the gods of his people, he expected that they would try to overcome him by magic, and believing that such an attempt would be more likely to fail in the open air than in a house,—for under the blue sky he would be under the protection of beneficent gods,—he took his seat, probably under an oak on the upland ground near Minster, and sent for the missionaries to come before him there. As he sat surrounded by his thegns, he saw the monks approach in procession, bearing aloft like banners a large silver cross, and a picture of the Redeemer painted on wood. As they advanced, the tall figure of Augustine towering a head and shoulders above his companions, they sang in the stately tones of a chant taught them, we may well believe, by their great master Gregory, a prayer for themselves and for those for whose sake they had come. At Æthelbert's bidding they sat down, and Augustine preached to him and his thegns, telling them, according to an old English homilist, how "the merciful Saviour had redeemed the world by His own agony and opened the kingdom of Heaven to all believers." Æthelbert answered him wisely. "Beautiful words and promises they are," he said, "that you bring me, but they are strange and unproved, and I cannot yet agree to them, or forsake the gods that I and the whole English race have served so long. Still, as you have come from far to tell us things which you believe to be true and good

for us,"—the change in the pronoun probably shows that the king was now declaring the result of his deliberation with his thegns—"we will by no means harm you; nay, we will receive you hospitably, and give you what you need, and we do not forbid you to bring over such as you can to your religion." He then appointed them a lodging in Canterbury, his royal city. So they crossed the river, and advanced toward Canterbury along the valley of the Stour. As they drew near the little wood-built city, they again formed a procession, again lifted on high the cross and the picture of our Lord, and again sang a processional anthem, founded on the prayer of the prophet Daniel, which they had doubtless heard in Gaul where litanies were sung on Rogation days, "We beseech Thee, O Lord, according to all Thy pity let Thine anger and Thy fury be turned away from this city and Thy holy house, for we have sinned. Alleluia." Though the people that came out to see them did not understand these words, the solemn beauty of the monks' entrance into the city must have moved many hearts.

The baptism of Æthelbert, June 1, 597.

By the king's appointment the missionaries, it is said, dwelt at Stable-gate near the present church of St. Alphege, living like the Christians of apostolic times, constant in prayer and in vigils, preaching to such as would hear them, and accepting from them nothing save their daily bread. They used Queen Bertha's church, St. Martin's, and there sang the Psalms, celebrated masses, preached and baptized; for some, attracted by the innocency of their lives as well as the beauty of their teaching, believed and were baptized. It is said, and it appears likely, that Bishop Liudhard lived to rejoice in the work carried on by the Roman monks in the little church in which he had for many years ministered to the queen, but of this we cannot be sure. Encouraged by the coming of the missionaries Bertha at last used her influence with her husband to bring him to accept the Gospel, and in a short time Æthelbert became a convert, and received baptism on Whitsun-eve, June 1, according to Canterbury tradition, in St. Martin's church. Many followed his example, for though in obedience to his teachers, who pointed out that Christ would accept only voluntary service, he compelled no man to adopt Christianity, he naturally

favoured those who did so, reckoning them fellow-citizens with himself of the heavenly kingdom.

The baptism of Æthelbert having given Christianity a foothold in England, Augustine at once proceeded to found a Church which was to be not Kentish but English, the Church of the whole English race. Acting on instructions previously received from Gregory, he went to Gaul and sought consecration from Vergilius, Archbishop of Arles, the highest in dignity of all the churches of Gaul. Vergilius, having obtained the assistance of other Gallican bishops, consecrated him as "Archbishop of the English" on November 16, a day ever memorable as the birthday of the English Church. Though Gregory and Vergilius spoke of the conquerors of Britain under the common name of English, it was not until centuries after their time that the English attained political unity. Christianity was the first bond between them, for neither their common origin, their common language, nor their common paganism had availed to bind them together. When Augustine was consecrated as their Archbishop they were divided into various kingdoms which were constantly at war with each other; they learnt the lesson of unity from the Church. From its foundation it was the Church of all alike, irrespective of political distinctions, and it soon worked out a constitution which afforded the English an example of national government. So far then is the Church of England from being the creature of the State, that the State may be said to owe its existence in no small degree to the instrumentality and example of the Church. Augustine's return was quickly followed by a vast increase in the number of converts, and on Christmas Day he baptized, it is said, ten thousand persons in the river Swale near the mouth of the Medway. Many of these must have accepted baptism without a well-grounded conviction of the truths of Christianity, yet the faith had taken a firm hold in Kent, and though the Church that Augustine planted soon had to endure storms, it remained, and after thirteen centuries still remains, an abiding witness to its Lord, and a source of safety and refreshment to His people.

Augustine Abp. 597-604.

Æthelbert is said, though the tradition is scarcely worth repeating, to have given up his palace at Canterbury to

Augustine and to have built himself another at Reculver. He certainly gave him a suitable dwelling for himself and future archbishops, together with other possessions. He also helped him to restore an old church that had been built in Canterbury by Roman Christians. Augustine dedicated this church to Christ the Saviour, and made it the place of his metropolitan see. It remained with little material alteration until it was destroyed by the fire of 1067, and Eadmer the precentor, who saw it in his boyhood, has left us a description of it. It was basilican in form, and was built in imitation of St. Peter's at Rome, that is, of the basilica said to have been founded by Constantine. The ordinary characteristics of a basilican church are a wide nave with one or sometimes two aisles on either side, in some cases with a kind of transept, and with an altar at one end raised above the level of the nave, and having above it a wide arch, behind it an apse, in front of it an enclosed space for the choir on the level of the nave, and beneath it a crypt, or *Confessio* as the Romans called it. Augustine's church was oblong, with an aisle on either side, and instead of a single apse, it had one at both the east and the west ends. The eastern apse was occupied by the presbytery, which was on a higher level than the floor of the church and extended westwards beyond the apse. Beneath the presbytery was a crypt or *Confessio*, the floor of which was lower than the level of the nave. The entrance to the crypt was in the middle below the presbytery, and on either side of the entrance a flight of steps led up to the presbytery. An altar seems to have stood against the wall of this eastern apse, and another altar some way in front of it on the chord of the apse below a wide arch; the altar against the wall probably took the place of that in front of it as the high altar in the tenth century. Below, in front of the presbytery, was the enclosed choir stretching westwards. The western apse, which was reached by a few steps, contained the archbishop's *cathedra*, or throne, which stood against the wall in the centre of the curve. In front of it was an altar, and this altar was probably the primitive high altar of the church. The celebrant at this altar as he looked eastwards would face the congregation. That the sanctuary should have been in the west is not

Christ Church, Canterbury.

surprising, for though Paulinus, Bishop of Nola (*d.* 431), says that it was more usual for churches to be built to the east than to the west, he did not himself in one case follow the custom, and in St. Peter's and at least forty other Roman churches, either ancient or rebuilt with the same orientation as their ancient predecessors, the high altar stands in the west end, other ancient Roman churches having their high altars in the east. In either case, according to primitive usage, the celebrant faced eastwards. About half-way down the north and south sides of Augustine's church, and projecting beyond the aisles, were two towers, the southern forming a porch or side chapel, the northern, at least in later times, forming the completion of the cloister. It has been conjectured with much probability that the church of the Roman period on which Augustine worked consisted of a short basilica with a western apse, and an eastern portico flanked by two towers, and that while restoring it he extended it eastwards, so as to provide an altar for the use of his monks and a convenient choir. Some notice of the architecture of other churches will be found in a later chapter, but it may be well to say here that there seems good ground for believing that all the churches built by the Roman missionaries and their early followers showed, as might be expected, Roman influence; they were more or less basilican in character and were apsidal. Rectangular instead of apsidal east-ends seem to bespeak another influence—that exercised by the Scottish mission.

Æthelbert desired Augustine to take any old British churches he liked and again render them fit for Christian worship. He accordingly restored one of them that stood outside the wall of the city on the way to St. Martin's. It is said to have been used as a pagan temple, and to have contained an idol. Augustine, we are told, broke the idol, purified the building, and dedicated it to St. Pancras, a boy-martyr, because his old monastery at Rome stood on land that had once belonged to the saint's family, and also, it is said, in memory of the slave-boys whose bright faces had suggested the idea of the mission to Gregory. Whatever the Canterbury tradition as to the idol may be worth, it is fairly certain that Augustine did restore the

Two other churches.

church. Moreover, on land hard by, and also outside the wall, he founded a monastery in which Æthelbert at his suggestion built a church in honour of St. Peter and St. Paul, to be the burial-place of the Archbishops of Canterbury and the Kings of Kent. The church, afterwards called St. Augustine's, was not finished at the archbishop's death.

Meanwhile, after his return from Gaul, Augustine, probably in the spring of 598, sent Laurentius and Peter to Rome to tell the pope of the success of his mission, and to lay before him certain questions for his decision. Gregory was delighted at the tidings they brought him, and wrote an account of them to Eulogius of Alexandria, in order that the good patriarch might know that his prayers for the English had been answered, and also wrote to thank some who had helped his missionaries on their journey. Syagrius, Bishop of Autun, had done much for them, and in return the pope granted him a pall, a vestment of which something will be said hereafter, and ordained that the see of Autun should rank next after the see of Lyons. Though Gregory is said to have made no delay in sending back his answers to Augustine's questions, the messengers did not leave Rome before June 22, 601. He was suffering grievously from gout, and was much occupied with other matters. Besides, he was anxious to send a reinforcement to the mission, and may not at once have been able to fix on the right men. When at last Laurentius and Peter set out on their return, they were accompanied by several more missionary-monks, —Mellitus, Justus, Paulinus, whom we shall meet with again, Rufinianus, and others. With them the pope sent commendatory letters to eleven bishops of Gaul, to the three Frankish kings, and to Queen Brunhild. They brought back several letters from Gregory. In one of them he tells Augustine of his deep thankfulness that God had blessed his labours, and earnestly warns him against being uplifted by the great miracles that God had wrought through him. It is evident that Augustine believed that he had worked miracles, that he had written about them to Gregory, and that Gregory believed his account of them. The pope bids him rejoice that the souls of the English were drawn by outward miracles to inward grace, but to remember that when the disciples told

Messengers to Rome.

the Lord of the miracles that they had worked, He bade them rather rejoice that their "names were written in heaven." He also wrote to Æthelbert and Bertha. In his letter to Bertha he warmly congratulates her on what she had done towards the conversion of her husband, telling her that her goodness was talked of at Rome, and had been brought to the knowledge of the emperor at Constantinople, though he hints that she might have exercised her influence earlier. Æthelbert he exhorts to be zealous for the faith, to seek the conversion of his people, to extirpate idolatry, to destroy the idols' temples, to be guided in all religious matters by Augustine, and ever to remember that the end of this world is at hand, that it may not come upon him unawares. He sent him some presents which he knew he would value because they had been blessed by the Apostle St. Peter, that is, by himself as the Apostle's representative.

By the same messengers Gregory sent Augustine answers to the questions which he had laid before him.

Augustine's questions and Gregory's answers.

(1) Augustine's first question was as to the use that should be made of the offerings of the faithful. Gregory reminds him that the custom at Rome was that in a bishop's church they should be divided equally between the bishop, his clergy, the poor, and the repair of churches, but that as Augustine was a monk, and would live with his clergy, their portions need not be divided, he and they should have all things common. If, however, any of his clerks "below the sacred orders" were married, they were to live with their wives apart from the bishop's monastic establishment, and have separate stipends. Following in the steps of Leo the Great, Gregory had laid down that sub-deacons should be pledged to celibacy; clerks below that grade might marry.

(2) Augustine asked for direction concerning the different liturgies then in use, for he found that "one custom of masses was maintained in the holy Roman Church and another in the Gallican." With characteristic largeness of mind the pope bade him select from the liturgies of Rome, Gaul, or any other Church, whatever seemed to him most pleasing to God and most useful for "the Church of the English," and so make up a liturgy for England; for, he said,

"things are not to be loved for the sake of places, but places for good things," by which he meant that Augustine need not feel himself bound to a Roman liturgical usage because it was Roman, if he could find something better or more suited to his converts in the liturgy of another Church. Augustine, having received consecration at Arles, naturally wished to know whether his Church should follow Roman or Gallican usages; and if Liudhard, who was of course accustomed to use the Gallican liturgy in St. Martin's, was still alive, the question would have a special importance, for the differences in the two liturgies, though of no real significance, were marked and of frequent occurrence. His question had no reference to the British Church, he could not at that time have had any communication with the Britons, for had it been otherwise, he would certainly have laid before the pope the points on which they diverged from Roman custom. There is no evidence that he availed himself of the liberty granted him by the pope to compile a special liturgy for the English, and though one or two usages, such as the Rogation litanies, which, though not yet established at Rome, were observed in the English Church from very early times, were probably adopted from the Gallican Church by Augustine, the liturgy that he introduced was that with which he was familiar at Rome. Variations, probably due to the influence of the Scots, had crept in by the middle of the eighth century, and in a council of the English Church held in 747, reference is made in a canon concerning the observance of fasts to "the written exemplar that we have from the Roman Church." Gregory made some changes in the Roman sacramentary, and, whether his revision was completed by 597 or not until a later date, the English Church doubtless used the liturgy as he left it. Any Gallicanisms that are found in the later missals are probably to be traced to the intimate relations that existed between the Anglican and Gallican Churches, specially in the tenth century. Gregory also introduced a reform into the Roman method of chanting, and personally taught his "cantus" in a song-school in his palace. The Roman or Gregorian "cantus" was carefully used at Canterbury, and its use became a sign of adherence to the Roman obedience in opposition to the

Celtic customs. It is, of course, deeply to be regretted that Augustine did not give the English Church a vernacular liturgy; for that, however, he must not be blamed, he could not have ideas that were wholly foreign to his time.

(3) In answer to a question concerning the punishment of theft from churches, Gregory said that in punishment a distinction should be made between those who had enough, and those who sinned through poverty, that in all cases restitution should be made, but that the church should not receive more than had been stolen, or make a profit out of the theft.

(4, 5) Both the fourth and fifth of Augustine's questions concern marriage. Gregory declared that the English must be taught that marriage with a step-mother, which was common among them as among other Teutonic pagans, was a grave sin, and that he who was guilty of it was to be deprived of the Holy Communion, but if a man had made such a marriage in ignorance and before baptism, and afterwards repudiated it, he was to be admitted to Communion. He blamed the laxity of the Roman civil law with reference to marriage, and forbade the marriage of first cousins, that is, marriage within the third degree; beyond that degree he allowed marriage. He is said at a later date to have written to a certain Bishop of Messana that in making this limit he had regard to the weakness of new converts, and that he intended, when the English had grown strong in the faith, to forbid them to marry up to the seventh degree. Some doubt has been thrown on the authenticity of this letter, but it is certain that even in early times the English Church did not continue to use Gregory's permission.

(6) Augustine further asked whether, if bishops were separated by long distances, a bishop might have only one consecrator. While it had been laid down by the Council of Arles that if possible seven, and by the Council of Nicæa that not less than three, bishops should join in consecrating a bishop, consecration by a single bishop had not been declared invalid, and Gregory replied that as Augustine was the only bishop of the Church of the English, he must consecrate alone, but advised him to ordain bishops on such a plan as would not separate them too far, and would enable him to have their assistance at consecrations.

(7) Of what kind, Augustine asked, were to be his relations with the bishops of Gaul and Britain? Gregory replied that he gave him no authority over the bishops of Gaul, though if he visited Gaul he was to assist the Archbishop of Arles in correcting abuses; all the bishops of Britain he committed to him that he might strengthen the weak, teach the unlearned, and correct the perverse by authority. At the same time he wrote a letter to Vergilius of Arles, directing that if Augustine visited him, Vergilius was to use him as an assessor in correcting the offences of priests and others. Augustine has perhaps been blamed unfairly for his question as to the bishops of Gaul, which does not necessarily imply any self-importance, as though he wished to assert his authority over others. His consecration by Vergilius made it important for him and for the Church over which he was to preside, that his relation to the bishops of Gaul should be defined. Augustine's mention of the bishops of Britain must be taken to refer to the Celtic bishops of whom he had of course heard, and Gregory's answer clearly refers to them, though both question and answer included also the bishops who were to be ordained for the English; all alike were to be subject to Augustine's authority. This general authority was granted to Augustine personally, and, as we shall see, was, after his death, to be limited by the authority of a second metropolitan.

(8, 9) The other questions concerned matters of ceremonial purity, about which it is enough to say that Gregory's answers show greater loftiness and spirituality of mind than are implied by Augustine's difficulties.

In another letter to Augustine, written at the same time, Gregory lays down his scheme for the English Church. He sent Augustine a pall. This vestment was originally, as its name (*pallium*) shows, a cloak, and was worn, richly ornamented, by the emperor. It gradually assumed the form in which it appears in the arms of the see of Canterbury, and became a kind of scarf resting on the shoulders with the two ends hanging down in front of, and at the back of the wearer. The emperor sometimes granted it to patriarchs, and later the popes sent palls, at first with the emperor's consent, and then independently of him, to certain

The pall.

bishops, and specially to metropolitans, as a mark of honour, and in some cases as a mark of vicarial authority. The pall was only to be worn on certain occasions, and generally at least only at mass, and it was then alone that Augustine was to wear it. Gradually the popes assumed the sole right of granting this vestment, and established the doctrine that its grant was necessary to the performance of metropolitan functions, that it alone invested an archbishop with his metropolitan character. By this doctrine, which seems to have been established in England by the eighth century, the papal power was vastly increased, for all archbishops throughout Western Christendom were forced to apply to the pope for confirmation of their appointment; until they had received the pall they could not consecrate bishops or perform any act as metropolitans. A further advance was made when the popes gradually succeeded in enforcing a rule that archbishops must go in person to Rome to fetch their palls, which were, and still are, made of the wool of lambs fed at the church of St. Agnes, outside the walls of Rome; they are embroidered with four crosses, and are laid for a night on the tomb of St. Peter. Gregory certainly seems to connect the gift of the pall to Augustine with the right to consecrate bishops.

Guided probably by the political division of Britain under imperial rule he divided the island into two ecclesiastical provinces each with its own metropolitan, having their sees, the one at London and the other at York. Augustine was to consecrate twelve bishops for the Southern province, and a metropolitan for York who, if the North accepted the Gospel, was also to have twelve suffragans; he too, Gregory said, should receive a pall, and after Augustine's death was to be independent of the see of London. Both the English metropolitans were, after Augustine's death, to be equal in dignity, the one who was the senior in ordination ranking first, and both were to consult together and act in mutual accord. So long, however, as Augustine lived, he was to be the head of all the bishops of the land, as well those ordained by the metropolitan of York as others. As Gregory's scheme evidently contemplated the extension of the English Church over the whole island, the two provinces that he created were not so unequal in size as

Gregory's scheme.

they afterwards proved to be. York, the chief military centre of Roman Britain, the residence of Severus, and of Constantius the father of Constantine, was naturally chosen as the head of the Northern province, and London, already the chief commercial city of the island, seemed to the pope not less suited to be the metropolitan city of the South. London, however, did not become a metropolitan city. When the pope's letter arrived it was still heathen, and though a church was planted there before Augustine's death, it was not firmly established, and he had good reason for acting in accordance with his own wish not to leave the place and church which must have been dear to him. Shortly after his death London again became heathen, and by the time that its people were finally converted to Christianity, the primatial see had become so firmly established at Canterbury that no one thought of removing it. Along with these letters, Gregory sent Augustine everything that was needful for public worship, sacred vessels, vestments, relics, and many books.

After Laurentius and his company had proceeded some way on their journey Gregory sent a messenger after them. He was anxious to hear how they were prospering, for he had received no tidings of them, and he had something further to say for the guidance of the newly-planted Church. His messenger brought a letter from him to Mellitus in which he alters his directions with reference to the heathen temples. They were, he says in this letter, not to be destroyed; but, if well built, were to be purified and turned into churches. Nor would he have the people deprived of the festivals that they had hitherto kept with heathen rites; they, too, were to be made aids to Christian worship, for he would have them kept on the dedication days of churches, or in memory of the holy martyrs. At the seasons at which the people were wont to sacrifice their oxen to idols, they were to come to the same buildings as of old, which would no longer be heathen temples but Christian churches, and, camping round them, were to feast on their cattle, and give thanks to God the giver of all things. And so arose the Whitsun and church-ales, the May games, and other festivities of past times, and so it came about that the Paschal feast was called, Bede says, after the goddess

Christianity and heathenism.

Eostra, for it usually fell in her month, and some of the heathen customs of the feasts held at the two solstices were transferred to Christmas, which took the place of the Teutonic Yule-tide, and to the eve and day of St. John the Baptist. There is much to admire in the tenderness of heart which led Gregory to seek to make Christianity attractive to the new converts, and in his idea of causing the Church to enter on the heritage of the heathen, beautifying and sanctifying to the service of God things that originally belonged to the worship of idols. On the other hand, it seems probable that the heathenish and superstitious practices against which the Church had to struggle so long in this as in other Teutonic lands, would have died out more rapidly if the missionaries had from the first insisted that their converts should forsake everything connected with their former paganism.

AUTHORITIES. — The main authority for the history of the Church of England to the year 731 is Bede's beautiful and trustworthy narrative in his *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, of which there are many editions. It may be studied to most advantage in Mr. Plummer's *Bædæ Opera Historica*, Oxford, 1896, 2 vols., an admirable edition. Canterbury traditions will be found in Goscelin's (fl. 1098) *De Vita et Translatione S. Augustini*, *ap. Acta SS.*, Bolland., May 26; in the *Chronica* of Thorne (fl. 1397), *ap.* Twysden's *Decem Scriptores*, London, 1652; and in the *Historia Monast. S. Augustini Cantuar.* of Elmham (fl. 1416), ed. Hardwick, Rolls ser. *Councils and Eccl. Docs.*, ed. Haddan and Bishop Stubbs, vol. iii., is of first-rate importance to 870, where it ends. Canon Bright's *Chapters of Early Church History*, Oxford, 1878, revised edition 1897, which goes down to 709, is full of learning, and should be read by all students. It would be difficult to express the extent to which this book is indebted to the works of Bishop Stubbs, Canon Bright, and Mr. Plummer. Bede's notices of Gregory the Great seem partly founded on an old Life by an English monk, discovered by Paul Ewald, and printed in *Historische Aufsätze dem Andenken an G. Waitz gewidmet*, 1886; see also *Eng. Hist. Rev.* iii. (1888) 295, 305, and Plummer, u.s. Lives of Gregory, by Paul the Deacon (eighth century), and John the Deacon (ninth century), and his Letters are in the Benedictine edition of Gregory's *Opera*. *The Mission of St. Augustine*, ed. Rev. A. J. Mason, D.D., Canon of Canterbury, Cambridge, 1897, gives excellent translations of Bede's chapters on the Mission, and contains some valuable Excursus; the attempt to fix the landing at Richborough is scarcely successful. See also Stanley's *Memorials of Canterbury*, London, 1855, 1868. For Christ Church, Canterbury, see Eadmer's account *ap.* Gervase of Canterbury's *Opera*, i. 7-95 Rolls ser.; Willis's *Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral*, London, 1845; and Scott's *Essay on English Church Architecture*, London, 1881; for St. Augustine's, see Thorne and Elmham, u.s.

CHAPTER III

THE CHURCH IN KENT

Soon after Mellitus and his companions arrived in England, perhaps at the end of 601, Augustine determined to ascertain whether the British Church would acknowledge the authority over it with which Gregory had invested him; for he was anxious to obtain its help in his mission to the English. Through Æthelbert's influence a meeting was arranged on the borders of the lands of the West Saxons and the Hwiccas, who had settled in the present Gloucestershire and Worcestershire. The meeting-place was at an oak, long afterwards called Augustine's oak, probably a landmark, and, it may be, an ancient tree which had received superstitious reverence alike from the earlier inhabitants of Britain and from the conquering race. Where it stood is not known, probably near the southern bank of the Severn. Aust, near Chepstow, has been suggested as the place of meeting, and though it was called after the Emperor Augustus, it may nevertheless have been the scene of Augustine's conference, and if so, its name would have a twofold significance. To this oak came a party of British bishops and learned men from South Wales. They entered the land from which their countrymen had been driven to meet one who came to them as archbishop of the people whom they hated, demanding the submission of their Church, and their help in preaching the Gospel to their fierce conquerors. Augustine asked them whether they would have catholic concord with him, and would join him in his work of evangelisation. His question referred to the points on which their Church differed from

First conference with British bishops.

Rome—the date of Easter and the rest. The British bishops declared that they would keep their own traditions and refused to listen to the prayers and reproaches which he and his companions addressed to them. At last Augustine closed the debate by proposing that they should join in asking God for a sign as to which tradition was the way that led to heaven. Bede, who tells the story as it was told to him a century and a half later, says that the Britons assented unwillingly, and that an Englishman who had become blind was brought forward. In vain the Britons tried to heal him. Then Augustine knelt down and prayed, and the blind man received his sight. Convinced by this significant miracle, the Britons owned that Augustine's way was the right one, but said that they could not desert their own traditions without the consent of their people. A second synod was, therefore, arranged at which the British Church might be more largely represented.

Seven British bishops, it is said, and a great number of learned men, many of them from the then famous monastery of Bangor Iscoed, near Chester, agreed to attend the second conference with Augustine. Before setting out they consulted a hermit named Dinoot, or Dinawd, of high repute for wisdom and holiness, as to whether they should accept Augustine's teaching. He answered that, if Augustine was a man of God, they should follow him. How can we know whether he is so? they asked. He told them that if he was meek and lowly of heart, they might know that he had taken on him the yoke of Christ, and was offering it to them, and that they should not refuse to accept it, but that if he was overbearing and proud, he could not be a man of God. They asked how they could judge of this, and he bade them contrive that Augustine should be first at the place of meeting, and then if he rose at their approach they might know him to be a servant of Christ, and should therefore obey him, but that if he did not rise to receive them, he would show that he despised them, and they might treat him with contempt. They did as he had said, and when they came to the place of meeting found Augustine sitting on a seat. He did not rise when they approached him, for he had come to assert his authority over them; and they, seeing that he remained seated, were offended and set themselves to contradict all he said. *It*

The second Conference.

Augustine cannot be acquitted of a lack of courtesy and Christian meekness in his reception of them, he certainly showed some liberality of mind in his demands, for he only asked three things of them,—that they should keep Easter at its right date, that they should baptize in the Roman manner, and that they should join in preaching the Gospel to the English; all other differences he declared himself willing to bear without remonstrance. They answered that they would do none of these things and would not have him for archbishop. On this Augustine is said to have prophesied that if they would not have peace with their brethren, they should have war from their enemies; and that as they would not teach the English the way of life, they should meet with death at their hands. A long time, nine if not twelve years, after his own death his words were fulfilled, for Æthelfrith, the heathen king of Northumbria, overthrew the Britons in a fierce battle near Chester, and slew, it is said, nearly twelve hundred of the monks of Bangor who had come to pray for the success of their fellow-countrymen.

The rejection of Augustine's demands was the beginning of an open schism that was accompanied by much angry and uncharitable feeling. The Scots agreed with the Britons in cleaving to the customs common to both Celtic Churches which were condemned by Rome. On the side of the English Church, Theodore, one of the greatest Archbishops of Canterbury, pronounced that orders conferred by the bishops of the British and Scottish Churches were invalid, and that churches consecrated by them had need of fresh rites. Even the large-minded Bede speaks harshly of the Britons, and though he loved and revered the holy men of the Scottish Church, blames them for their obstinacy in adhering to their Celtic customs. For a long period the Britons, and specially those of the West, scarcely acknowledged the clergy of the English Church as Christians, and would not eat with them. While feelings of this sort must be condemned, it is only fair to the advocates of the Roman usages in England to remember that the Celtic customs were a breach of Catholic unity, that by adhering to them the Celtic Churches separated themselves from the rest of Christendom, and that when the Church was standing face to face with paganism, or

The schism.

had to consider the weakness of new converts, outward unity was of special importance. Moreover, the bitterness which accompanied the schism may be traced, in part at least, to a cause more exasperating than even differences in ritual and order. What that cause was will be evident if we examine the full significance of the Britons' refusal of Augustine's demands. While Bede's story of the consultation with the hermit represents a genuine tradition, Augustine's lack of courtesy would scarcely have had much weight with the Britons had they not already determined on the course which they adopted. Their rejection of Augustine certainly involved a renunciation of the authority of the Roman see, but that result was merely incidental; nothing, so far as we know, was said about it, and the past history of the British Church, specially in connection with the date of Easter, shows no reason for believing that obedience to Rome would, in itself, have been distasteful to them. They were strongly attached to their traditions, and at first some among the Scots were not less bitter in their defence of them, but the long-continued bitterness exhibited by the Britons of Wales and the West is not matched among the adherents to the Celtic Easter in Gaul or Galicia, among the Picts, or the Scots of Ireland or the North. It was race-hatred that kept the Britons from preaching the Gospel to the English, and exaggerated their feelings with regard to ecclesiastical usages which were in their eyes hallowed by a sentiment of nationality, specially keen and sensitive among a depressed and conquered people. It is not perhaps going too far to say, that they rejected Augustine at least as much because he came to them as Archbishop of the English, and with the demand that they should help in the conversion of the English, as because he demanded that they should conform to the Roman usages in the computation of Easter and the ritual in baptism. In like manner we cannot doubt that, even in the best of the English churchmen, race hostility was strong, and that their dislike to the Britons was naturally increased by the fact that the British Church had chosen to stand aloof from the work of evangelisation. While Bede speaks harshly of the British Christians who fell in their nation's cause by the sword of the heathen Æthelfrith, he in another place blames an English king for

invading Ireland, on the ground that the Scots, who were then still in schism, but had sent many holy men to labour in England, were most kind to the English nation. The refusal of the Britons to preach to the English was a drawback to the success of Augustine's mission. Other labourers were sorely needed, both then and later, to push forward the work, and other labourers were, before long, supplied by the Scots. But from the British Church no help came, and it had no share either in the foundation or development of the English Church.

The conversion of the East Saxons.

Besides the general superiority of Æthelbert over all the English peoples south of the Humber, the kingdom of the East Saxons was more immediately under his control; for the East Saxon king, Sæbert or Sæbriht, who was the son of Æthelbert's sister Ricula, reigned in complete dependence on him. Æthelbert used his power for the furtherance of the Gospel, and in 604 Augustine, shortly before his death, consecrated Mellitus as bishop, and sent him to preach to the East Saxons. They and their king accepted the faith, and Æthelbert built a church, dedicated to St. Paul, in London, which was their chief city, and was much frequented by traders from foreign lands, that Mellitus and his successors might have their see there. It may perhaps conveniently be noted here that when a bishop's see (*sedes*), or official seat or throne (*cathedra*), is placed in a church, it thereby becomes a cathedral church, or, as it is colloquially called, a cathedral. In the same year Augustine also consecrated Justus as bishop for the Kentish people settled in the western part of the kingdom, who were probably a distinct subdivision of the Jutes, and, though equally with their eastern neighbours under the dominion of Æthelbert, may still have had a political existence of their own. The see of the West Kentish bishops was placed at Rochester, a walled town of Roman times, and there Æthelbert built a church for Justus and his successors which was dedicated to St. Andrew, in memory of the old home of the missionaries. The political dependence of the West Kentishmen on the king reigning at Canterbury was long marked by the relation of the two churches to each other; the bishopric of Rochester was dependent on the see of

Canterbury, and until the middle of the twelfth century its bishops were appointed by the archbishop. To both the churches of London and Rochester, as well as to the church of Canterbury, Æthelbert gave lands and other gifts. Partly in order to ensure the safety of the missionaries and of the property he had bestowed upon them, and to no small extent from a desire to copy the Roman civilisation of which he heard from them, he determined to reduce the unwritten laws of his people to writing. In this matter he acted with the consent and counsel of his constitutional advisers, the witan (wise men), or chief men of his kingdom, who agreed to his wishes in their assembly or witenagemot. The first "doom" or law in Æthelbert's code, which was drawn up in Augustine's lifetime, relates to the Church, and illustrates the sanctity attached to its possessions by these new converts. For the property of God and the Church compensation was to be made twelvefold, for a bishop's property elevenfold, for a priest's ninefold, for a deacon's sixfold, and for a clerk's threefold. The significance of this law is illustrated by another which fixes the compensation to be made for a theft from the king at ninefold. For a breach of church-frith, that is the peace and security due to persons and things under the protection of a church, it was decreed that a twofold compensation should be made. Thus, long before the English nation attained political existence, the temporal rights and possessions of the English Church were recognised and defended by an English legislative assembly.

Æthelbert's laws.

Though the church of St. Peter and St. Paul was not finished in Augustine's lifetime, he formed the convent, and set over it as abbot his old companion Peter, who was then in priest's orders. The church and monastery were built solely for monastic purposes. Christ Church was also a monastic church, but it was something more, it was the metropolitan church, the church of the archbishop. As an ecclesiastical system grew up, the archbishop's household contained many non-monastic clergy who lived along with the monks in the monastery. From the first, the character of the monastery of Christ Church was priestly, clerical rather than monastic; it probably always during our period, save for very brief space, included clerks as well as

Christ Church, and St. Peter and St. Paul's.

monks. The non-monastic element tended to increase, and a time came when at Christ Church even the so-called monks were monks only in name, for monastic discipline had become extinct among them. Feeling that his life was drawing to a close, and anxious that the infant Church should not suffer from being deprived, even for brief space, of a chief pastor, Augustine consecrated Laurentius, one of the original mission, as his successor at Canterbury. This was an uncanonical act, for though it was lawful for a bishop to have *chorepiscopi* (τῆς χώρας ἐπίσκοποι), or assistant bishops, to help him in the rural parts of his diocese, it was generally the rule from the time of St. Cyprian that there should only be one bishop in a city, and this maxim was held to be endorsed by a canon of the Nicene Council. Nevertheless there were many who considered that the rule was not binding in cases in which the good of the Church called for a breach of it, and it was believed that St. Peter himself had consecrated Clement to succeed him at Rome, a matter which only concerns us here because Bede accounts for Augustine's action by saying that he followed the Apostle's example. He did what he considered necessary for the welfare of the Church, and of that he was the best judge. In the same light we must regard his departure from the pope's plan for placing the see of the southern metropolitan at London, where the Gospel had not as yet taken any firm hold.

Augustine died on May 26, probably in the year 604, or perhaps in 605, and was buried outside the unfinished church of St. Peter and St. Paul, until it should be ready to receive his body. That his mind was not of that lofty order to which outward things are merely of value as vehicles of, or witnesses to, spiritual grace, is proved by his questions about ceremonial purity; yet this deficiency is not remarkable in a man of his time, nor will his difficulties appear foolish, if it is remembered that his experience had, so far as is known, been confined to monastic life. Gregory's answer to his question concerning his relations towards the bishops of Gaul, the warning addressed to him against being puffed up, and his lack of courtesy and gentleness in dealing with the British bishops, suggest that he was inclined to think highly of himself. Yet even so, we need not

St. Augustine's death, 604?

judge him harshly; for he had been called from an obscure monastic life to plant a new Church, to rule over it, and to be the trusted adviser of a king. He accomplished great things, and was believed by himself and others to be endued with miraculous powers; if he had been a man of meeker spirit, he would have been one of the greatest of men. Little as we know about him, it is easy to see that he was courageous, wise, and devoted to his holy work, and that he commanded the respect and affection of those among whom he laboured. To compare him with Pope Gregory would be hard upon him, for there have been few churchmen of any age or race who would not suffer from such a comparison. Gregory died on March 12, 604. Bede sets forth his claim on the reverence of Englishmen in the words, "If he be not an apostle unto others, yet he is unto us, for the seal of his apostleship are we in the Lord." Nor is this true of Englishmen only; the seed planted at Canterbury by Gregory and Augustine has borne fruit among many peoples and in every quarter of the world. The Church of England, whose Calendar, perhaps, contains too few of the names of her noblest children, has happily kept there the names of her two spiritual fathers.—St. Gregory and St. Augustine of Canterbury.

Laurentius, Abp. of Cant. 604?-619.

Laurentius, who succeeded to the archbishopric on Augustine's death, laboured zealously to extend the foundations of the Church both by example and exhortation. Anxious for union and help, he tried to overcome the prejudices of the Scots of Ireland and the Britons. He was stirred to action in this direction by a visit to Canterbury of an Irish bishop, Dagan, Bishop of Ennereilly, in Wicklow, who refused to eat with him or to accept a lodging with him and his clergy. On this he wrote a letter, in conjunction with his two suffragans Mellitus and Justus, to the bishops and abbots throughout "Scotia," or Ireland, saying that when they came to Britain to preach to the heathen, they regarded both Britons and Scots with reverence, believing that they walked in accordance with the customs of the Catholic Church; that they had been undeceived as regards the Britons, but still had better hopes of the Scots, until they learnt from Dagan, whose unchristian

conduct they related, and from Columban in Gaul, that the Scots were at one with the Britons in their customs. The remainder of the letter has not been preserved. The Columban to whom it refers was a native of Leinster, who about 585 went to Gaul to preach the Gospel. There he founded a monastery at Luxeuil, which soon sent forth daughter communities. For twenty years he laboured among the Franks and Burgundians in the districts of the Vosges and the Jura, attracted many disciples, and gained great influence in Gaul. He adhered to the Celtic usages, and wrote in defence of them to the Frankish bishops, to Gregory the Great, and with outspoken boldness to Boniface IV. Leaving the professedly Christian people among whom he had laboured so long, he went to preach to the heathen Suevi and Alamanni about the Lake of Constance, and after a while crossed the Alps, founded a monastery at Bobbio, and devoted himself to combating the Arianism of the Lombards. He drew up a rule for his monasteries, which, as it had some influence on monasticism in England, will be noticed later. Columban's attack on the Gallican computation of Easter may well have become known to Laurentius when he was in Gaul in 601, and it is not unlikely that he may have met this most famous of the many missionaries who went forth from Ireland to labour on the continent. Laurentius and his suffragans also sent a letter to the British bishops exhorting them to catholic unity, but without effect.

St. Columban, *d.* 615.

Some questions having arisen of importance to the English Church, about which we know nothing, Mellitus the Bishop of London went to Rome to consult the pope upon them. He was present at a council held by Boniface IV., in February 610, on monastic matters, and subscribed its decrees, which he brought back with him to England, together with letters from Boniface to the archbishop and clergy, and to Æthelbert, and the English people. After his return Laurentius, in 613, consecrated the church of St. Peter and St. Paul at Canterbury, which had been begun in the lifetime of Augustine. The body of Augustine was translated by the archbishop from its grave outside the church and laid in the

Consecration of the church of St. Peter and St. Paul.

northern "porch" or chapel. In like manner, too, according to Canterbury tradition, were translated the bodies of the good queen Bertha, the date of whose death we do not know, and of her chaplain Liudhard, which were laid in the southern chapel dedicated to St. Martin. Abbot Peter did not live to take part in these ceremonies. The presence of a learned clergy among an unlearned people naturally leads to the employment of its members in secular affairs, and specially in communications with foreign states where there is more education. Accordingly Æthelbert sent Peter on an embassy to Gaul in 607. On his passage thither the abbot was drowned off Ambleteuse; his body, after having been buried carelessly by the people of the country, was translated and laid in the church of the Blessed Virgin at Boulogne. He was succeeded by John, another of the companions of Augustine, who was abbot at the time of the consecration of the church.

Before Æthelbert's death there was reason to hope that the Gospel would be accepted more widely. Rædwald, King of the East Anglians, paid a visit to the Kentish court, and was persuaded by Æthelbert to receive baptism, doubtless at the hands of Laurentius. It seems probable that Paulinus, one of the second band of Roman missionaries, went back with him to East Anglia to preach to his people. When, however, Rædwald returned home, his wife and certain of his counsellors, who were learned in heathen lore, persuaded him to abandon the purity of the faith, and to abstain from any attempt to convert his subjects. Rædwald therefore contented himself with treating the religion of Christ merely as an addition to his old paganism, and set up in his temple a Christian altar side by side with the altar on which he sacrificed to his idols. If Paulinus had accompanied him to East Anglia, he must have returned to Kent sorrowful at heart. Ealdwulf, the great-nephew of Rædwald, who came to the throne of East Anglia in 664, and was alive in Bede's time, remembered seeing the Christian and heathen altars standing together in the temple when he was a boy. It is probable that Rædwald's baptism and apostasy had a political significance. He came, we may suppose, to the court of Æthelbert, whom he had

Rædwald, King of the East Anglians.

acknowledged as his superior, to settle some dispute, and adopted Christianity rather as a sign of submission than from a sincere conviction of its truth. His queen, who was, as we shall see, a noble lady, probably stirred him up to reject Æthelbert's conditions, and his religion along with them. His apostasy would be followed by war, and we know that during Æthelbert's last years Rædwald made head against him, and eventually attained a superiority over other southern kingdoms similar to that which Æthelbert himself had held.

Æthelbert's death, 616.

Æthelbert died at a good old age in 616, after a reign of fifty-six years, and was buried in St. Martin's chapel by his wife Bertha. That he was a wise and thoughtful man seems proved by his conduct and words at the coming of Augustine. When, after some time spent in deliberation, he adopted Christianity he showed himself full of zeal in the service of God, doing all that lay in his power for the furtherance of the Gospel. His mind was liberal, and quick to receive new ideas, as is shown by his acceptance of the teaching of the missionaries and by his desire to have a written code of law in the place of the traditional and customary law of his people. Little, then, as we know about him, we are told enough to warrant us in believing that the first Christian king of English race was not unworthy of the Church which admitted him by baptism into the Communion of Saints.

On Æthelbert's death the Church suffered a violent reverse. His son and successor Eadbald was a heathen, and, in accordance with heathen custom, took to wife his father's widow, for Æthelbert had married again after Bertha's death. This act was the signal for a partial though widespread return to heathenism in Kent; all who in Æthelbert's time had been moved to profess Christianity either by fear or favour, cast it off, and went back to their old way of life. The king was subject to attacks of madness, which the Christians regarded as visitations of an evil spirit, a manifest token of divine displeasure. As he was doubtless offended with Laurentius and his clergy, both as opponents of his marriage, and as heads of the Christian party in his kingdom, their position was full of danger. Fresh trouble came upon them, for when Sæbert died, probably in the same year as

Relapse and danger.

Æthelbert, the East Saxons relapsed into idolatry. Sæbert was succeeded by three sons, who had never accepted Christianity, though they had abstained from some heathen practices so long as their father lived. Released by his death from any necessity for further concealment, they openly worshipped idols, and let their people know that they might follow their example. With Bishop Mellitus they had a personal quarrel. They entered St. Paul's one day when he was celebrating the mass, and watched how, after the celebration, he gave the eucharist to the people. In their ignorance of the meaning of what they saw, they said to him, "Why do you not give us the white bread which you used to give to our father Saba"—for so Sæbert was familiarly called—"and which you still give to the people in the church?" He told them that if, like their father, they would be cleansed in the saving fount, they too might eat the holy bread. "We have no need," they said, "to enter that fount, but we desire to eat that bread." It seems probable that this dispute began before the brothers had taken up a decided line about religion; they evidently thought it derogatory to them that they should be shut out from participation in a rite to which their father had been admitted, and did not choose to humble their heathen pride so far as to receive baptism. They renewed their demand, and were told by Mellitus that what they wished was impossible, unless they were baptized. At last they became furious and said to him, "If you will not assent to this trifling request of ours, you shall no longer abide in our country." So they bade him begone, and he left the East Saxon land, and went to Canterbury to take counsel with Laurentius and Justus. Cast down by the storm which had broken so suddenly upon the Church, and threatened speedily to overwhelm it, the three bishops decided that it would be better for them to return to their native land, and there serve God with quiet minds, than to remain labouring fruitlessly among strangers who rebelled against the truth. Yet even so, they did not wholly despair. Mellitus and Justus, it is true, left the country, but they stayed in Gaul waiting to see how things would end, and Laurentius was to join them there. The East Saxons relapsed into idolatry, and though about ten years later the three brother-kings, who had brought about their relapse,

were slain in a battle with the West Saxons, the people remained heathen for nearly forty years.

Alike in accepting and apostatizing from Christianity, the East Saxons followed their kings. Other instances of wholesale changes of religion brought about by royal agency will occur in our narrative; more than once the marriage of a king with a Christian lady brought about the evangelisation of a people. Nevertheless, the personal influence of English kings in deciding the religion of their subjects does not imply that they were despotic rulers. It was due to the concurrent action of two causes,—the one religious, the other political. In an early state of society the individual was religiously of small account, the tribe or clan was everything. Religion was the bond of the community, and the worshipper of strange gods, the man who deserted the god of his tribe, and sought help from another source, was false to his tribe and offended against its most sacred convictions. Nor in a later stage of social progress did religion cease to be regarded as a matter of tribal rather than individual concern, for Tacitus notes how among the Germans the man who had shown himself false to his tribe by cowardice in battle was debarred from taking part in its religious rites as well as in its councils. By the English, the king was looked upon as the representative of his people, the symbol of their independent political existence. When they left their kindred beyond the sea and came over to Britain, they had no kings, and it was not until a tribe made good its settlement that it asserted its political existence by adopting kingship. Each royal house claimed descent from Woden, the earth-ruler; and in virtue of this descent the fittest of its members had a right to be chosen king. In this god-descended king the English tribe or nation saw the sign of its independence. As their religion was a tribal bond, and the king was the expression of tribal or national life, the religion of the king was naturally adopted by his people. For it is clear, as will be seen later, that English kings did not change their religion without consultation with their constitutional advisers. With them, conversion was not merely a matter that concerned themselves, it was an affair of state; so Rædwald, while influenced by his wife to return to idolatry, took counsel on the subject of his religion with men who, by whatever name

Religion and politics.

they were collectively called, were evidently his witan. English heathenism was in a sense an established religion, and the conversion of a king in like manner established Christianity in his kingdom. So that, from the conversion of Æthelbert on to the present day, the English Church has always been an Established Church; it was established in each heptarchic kingdom when the king, with the consent of his witan, became a Christian, and the union of the several kingdoms under one king did not alter its position.

Religious toleration.

The old conception of the intimate connection between religion and tribal life renders the toleration of the early English kings remarkably creditable. While some of the wars between different states had a religious side, no Christian and no heathen king of English race tried to force his religion on his subjects by persecution. For the most part they followed the decision of the king and his witan, and those who dissented from it were left to do as they pleased. Laws against heathen practices came later, when the question between heathenism and Christianity was no longer in debate. Although wholesale conversion was, as a rule, followed by a wholesale relapse of new converts on the accession of a heathen king, the truth once heard and accepted by a people did not fail of all effect. That, in spite of general apostasy, it brought forth good fruit here and there we may well believe, and, at worst, contact with Christianity lightened the gloom of English paganism, and imparted to it an element of hopefulness, an expectation of the triumph of light and life over darkness and death. Better than this, we may be sure that even a temporary acceptance of the Gospel paved the way for future permanent evangelisation; it shook the hold that immemorial paganism had over men's minds, so that when the offer of Christianity was again pressed upon them, they could no longer dwell, as Æthelbert did, on the claim that their religion derived from long and unbroken tradition.

The conversion of Eadbald.

The day on which Laurentius was to have left England to join Mellitus and Justus in Gaul, he appeared before the king, and showed him that his back was scored with stripes. Eadbald was astonished, and asked who had ventured so to ill-treat a man of his rank.

Then, according to the story which Bede had heard, Laurentius told him that, the night before, he had ordered his bed to be laid in the church of St. Peter and St. Paul, and there, after many tears and prayers for the flock which he was leaving, he lay down to rest. In his sleep St. Peter appeared to him, and gave him many stripes, asking him how he dared to leave Christ's sheep over whom he had appointed him to watch, and what shepherd was to guard them from wolves when he had gone. Eadbald feared greatly when he heard that he had been the cause of the archbishop's sufferings; he cursed his own idolatry, put away his unlawful wife, believed, and was baptized. This story does not stand alone; St. Jerome certainly believed that St. Peter had beaten him in order to draw him away from the study of profane literature. Each story of this kind, and there are several of them, should be considered separately. In this case, Bede heard the legend long after the events to which it refers, and the conversation between the king and the archbishop may, therefore, perhaps be considered as unhistorical. Yet the story no doubt has a groundwork of truth. If Laurentius really had marks of scourging upon him, it is probable that they were the result of a self-inflicted penance, consequent on a dream that he had had, when, excited and uneasy at the step he was about to take, he had lain down to slumber restlessly in the church. At such a crisis he may well have dreamt that the Apostle appeared to him, and addressed to him reproaches which had already troubled his wakeful thoughts. The constant habit of speaking of St. Peter and of other saints as personal agents in things done in their name, may easily have given rise to the belief that Laurentius told the king that he had been chastised by the Apostle in person. In any case, there is no adequate reason for accusing him of deliberate deception in the matter. After his conversion Eadbald did all that lay in his power to forward the work of the Church. He recalled Mellitus and Justus, and bade them return to their bishoprics. Justus went back to Rochester; but the Londoners were pleased again to be under their idolatrous high-priests, and refused to receive Mellitus. Kent was no longer so powerful as it had been at the time of St. Augustine's landing, and Eadbald could not force them to receive back their bishop. Nor does he seem to

have been able wholly to banish idolatry from his own kingdom, for, though his people generally followed his example, the idols were not utterly destroyed during his reign. He caused a church to be built at Canterbury in honour of the Blessed Virgin, to the east of the church of St. Peter and St. Paul, which was afterwards joined to it, and another dedicated to St. Peter at Folkestone, where his daughter Eanswith formed the first community of nuns in England. A venerable church which still stands in the castle of Dover has also, somewhat arbitrarily, been attributed to him; the best architectural authorities, however, consider that the present building is of a much later date.

During the short time that was left to Laurentius after the conversion of Eadbald, he must have been fully employed in strengthening the Church in Kent, and receiving back into its fold those who had apostatized from it. He died on February 2, 619, and was buried by the side of Augustine. He was succeeded by Mellitus, the dispossessed Bishop of London. No effort appears to have been made by Mellitus for the conversion of the heathen kingdoms. So far as is known, no door appeared open for the spread of the Gospel, and the new archbishop was much hindered by ill-health, for he suffered from gout in his feet. As he was a man of great spirituality of mind, his malady suggested Bede's remark that, though he could not walk, he could soar to regions of heavenly enjoyment. Noble by birth, he was, Bede says, more ennobled by the loftiness of his soul. In his time a fire consumed a large part of Canterbury, for fires were frequent and terribly destructive when houses were made of timber or wattle, and water was only thrown by hand upon a burning building. The episcopal house, or cathedral monastery, was in danger. Mellitus caused himself to be carried to the place where the fire was raging, and not being able to help in combating the flames, he prayed while others worked. A sudden change in the direction of the wind brought the fire to an end, and was believed to have been sent in answer to his prayers. His infirmity did not cause any neglect of the Church in Kent, for he found a willing helper in Bishop Justus, and both were zealous in pastoral work. Boniface V. sent

Mellitus, Abp. of Cant. 619-624.

them a letter of encouragement, but there is no evidence that either Mellitus or Laurentius received a pall. Mellitus died on April 24, 624, and was buried with Augustine and Laurentius.

Mellitus was succeeded by Justus, the only surviving bishop of the English Church. His translation from Rochester was a breach of the rule laid down by the Councils of Nicæa and Sardica (343), forbidding bishops to move from one bishopric to another. This rule, however, was made to meet temporary exigencies, and was probably intended to check personal ambition and party manœuvring, and later canons permitted episcopal translations when sanctioned by a provincial synod. In any case, the translation of Justus was a necessary measure, and was evidently approved by the pope, to whom both he and Eadbald wrote announcing his accession. The archbishop's letter appears to have expressed acute disappointment at the small results of the mission. Christianity was still confined to the little kingdom of Kent; the East Saxons, who had received it for a while, had relapsed, so far as he could see, hopelessly; and the East Anglians, whose conversion once seemed certain, were still in darkness. Boniface in reply sent him a letter full of encouraging words; he told him that he knew that he had laboured devotedly, and, reminding him of the Lord's promise, "Lo, I am with you alway, even to the end of the world," exhorted him not to be cast down. Eadbald, he said, had borne witness to the excellence of his teaching; let him be patient and of good courage, and he would see the heathen turned from their superstition, and would receive from the Lord the reward of his labours. The pope sent him a pall to be worn when he was celebrating the mass, with leave to consecrate bishops as occasion might arise, though he was single-handed. Justus accordingly consecrated Romanus as his successor at Rochester. Before three years had passed, the pope's encouraging words were amply justified by the conversion of the powerful King of Northumbria.

Justus, Abp. of Cant. 624-627.

AUTHORITIES.—This chapter is mainly founded on Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. Plummer, u.s., with the help of *Councils and Eccles. Docs.* u.s. vol. iii.; Canon Bright's *Chapters of Early Church History*, u.s.; Mr. Plummer's notes on Bede in vol. ii. of his *Hist. Eccles.*, and Dr. Loof's *Antiquæ Britonum Scotorumque Ecclesiæ*, u.s. The Life of St. Columban, written soon after his death by Jonas, a monk of Bobbio, with his Rule and

other writings, is in Fleming's *Collectanea Sacra*, Louvain, 1667, and is beautifully represented by Montalembert in his *Les Moines d'Occident*, livre vii. 7 vols. Paris, 1860-77; English transl. 7 vols. Edinburgh, 1861-79, and with Introduction by Rev. F. A. Gasquet, D.D., O.S.B., 6 vols. London, 1896. For ancient canons and customs, see Bingham's *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, *ap. Works*, 9 vols. London, 1844. The tribal character of early paganism is expounded by F. B. Jevons, Litt.D., in *An Introduction to the History of Religion*, c. ix. London, 1896. The antiquity of the church in Dover Castle is maintained by Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, iii. 535, Oxford, 1871, and by Puckle, who somehow connects it with the British Church, in *The Church and Castle of Dover*, Oxford, 1864, and is doubted by Sir Gilbert Scott, *Lectures on Mediæval Architecture*, London, 1879, and denied by G. G. Scott, *Essay on English Church Architecture*, London, 1881; Mr. J. T. Irvine decides that no part of it can be earlier than 990, see *Archæological Assoc. Proc.* 1885, and cf. *Archæol. Journal*, 1896.

CHAPTER IV

SUCCESS AND REVERSE

Eadwine of Northumbria, *b.* 585, *d.* 633.

NORTH of the river Humber lay the settlements of a people of Anglian race who from their geographical position were called Northumbrians. These settlements formed two kingdoms, the one to the south, which early in the seventh century answered to our present Yorkshire, being called Deira, the other, extending along the sea-board from the Tees to the Firth of Forth, Bernicia. Of Deira and its king Ælle, or Ælla, we have already heard in the story of Gregory and the English slave-boys. On Ælle's death in 588, the Bernician king Æthelric made himself master of Deira and drove out Ælle's infant son Eadwine or Edwin. He was succeeded by his son Æthelfrith, a powerful king who ruled over the whole of Northumbria from the Humber to the Firth of Forth, and in one of his many successful wars overthrew the Britons at Chester, where the monks of Bangor were massacred. Eadwine was about three years old when he left Deira, for he was born in 585. According to Welsh tradition he was brought up at the court of Cadvan, King of Gwynedd, the present North Wales, and was baptized by a British bishop, Run the son of Urbgen, but, so far as his baptism is concerned, this is certainly untrue, for he remained a heathen until he was past thirty. Still, it is quite possible that as a child he may have found refuge for a short time among the Britons, who would be willing to do anything that would embarrass their powerful enemy Æthelfrith. His youth was spent in exile and in wandering, for Æthelfrith sought his life, and no one could

shelter him without incurring the enmity of the Northumbrian king. In 616 he was at the court of Rædwald of East Anglia, who promised that he should be safe with him. A famous story is told by Bede, himself a Northumbrian, of what happened to him there.

Once and again Æthelfrith sent to Rædwald offering him money if he would slay his guest, but Rædwald would not hearken. A third time he sent demanding that Eadwine should be given up to his messengers; and bade Rædwald take his choice; he should have a large bribe if he would obey him, and if he refused he should have war. It was evening when Rædwald received the Northumbrians in his hall in the presence of his thegns. His conduct in the matter of religion proves that he was not a man of strong purpose, and, lured by the bribe or frightened by the threat, he gave way, and promised to betray his guest. Eadwine was not present when his fate was decided, but he had a faithful friend among the king's thegns, who went at once to the room where he slept, bade him follow him out of the house, so that they might talk unobserved, and told him, in the darkness, of the king's treacherous determination. He offered to get him out of the country, and take him to a place of refuge where neither Rædwald nor Æthelfrith should be able to find him. Eadwine's answer was worthy of his royal descent; he would not, he said, be the first to break the bond between himself and the king, and would still trust Rædwald, for he had received kindness from him. "But if," he added, "I must die, let my death come from him, and from no meaner man; and whither could I flee after so many years of exile?" His friend left him, and he remained sitting on a stone in front of the king's dwelling, full of sorrow and perplexity. As he sat there in the darkness, a tall figure, clad in a strange dress, drew near him, and the sight filled him with superstitious fear. "Why," the stranger asked, "are you sitting here while others sleep?" "What is it to you," Eadwine replied, "whether I spend the night within or out of doors?" The stranger told him that he knew the cause of his trouble, and asked him what he would do for the man who relieved him of it. He would, Eadwine said, give him all that he had. "And if he promised that you should

At Rædwald's court.

become a king, and triumph over your enemies, and be greater than all the kings of the English?" "My gratitude," was the reply, "should match his kindness." "And supposing," the stranger went on, "that he asked you to follow his counsel, and live a better and a happier life than any of your forefathers or kinsfolk ever dreamt of, would you obey him?" Eadwine at once promised that he would follow his teaching in all things. Then the stranger laid his right hand upon the exile's head, saying, "When this sign shall be given you, remember our discourse, and delay not to fulfil your promise." With these words he vanished in the darkness. Eadwine believed that it was no mortal man with whom he had been talking, and his heart was gladdened by the stranger's words. While he sat meditating on these things, his friend again came to him, and joyfully bade him rise and enter the palace without fear, for the king's purpose was changed. Rædwald had privately informed his queen of his promise to Æthelfrith's messengers, and the noble heathen lady told him how ill it would become so great a king to sell his friend for gold, and lose, for love of gain, honour which was more precious than jewels. The king knew that her words were true; he bade Æthelfrith's messengers depart, and prepared for war. On April 22, 616, before Æthelfrith had fully collected his forces, Rædwald and Eadwine fell upon him with a large army on the eastern bank of the river Idle. There they defeated and slew him in a fierce battle of which the minstrels used to sing, "Idle was foul with the blood of Angles."

Battle of the Idle.

The stranger who appeared to Eadwine in the darkness must, as we shall see, have been Paulinus; he had probably come to East Anglia on a mission which was rendered ineffectual by Rædwald's relapse. He may have been the first to hear of the king's change of mind concerning his guest, and have used his knowledge as a means of gaining a hold upon Eadwine.

After the overthrow of Æthelfrith, Eadwine became king of both the Northumbrian kingdoms, and drove out the seven sons of Æthelfrith, who were his own nephews, for Æthelfrith had married his sister Acha. They found shelter with the Picts and Scots; and three of them, Eanfrith, Oswald, and Oswiu or Oswy, will appear

Eadwine's marriage.

later in our narrative. Eadwine, whose first wife was the daughter of a Mercian king, sought in 625 to marry Æthelburh, daughter of Æthelbert of Kent, who was called by her friends by the pet name of Tata. Eadbald told him that he could not give his sister, who was a Christian, in marriage to a heathen. Nevertheless, Northumbria was to receive Christianity through a like means to that which had helped forward the evangelisation of Kent; for, like Æthelbert, Eadwine promised that his bride, and those she brought with her, should be free to worship their own God, adding that, if he found their religion better than his own, he might accept it. On this Eadbald consented to the marriage, and on July 21 Justus consecrated Paulinus a bishop, that he might accompany Æthelburh to her new home as her chaplain, hoping that he might be able to convert the Northumbrians.

For nearly a year Paulinus ministered to the queen and her attendants without gaining any ground among the heathen. In 626 Eadwine had a cause of quarrel with the West Saxons, and Cwichelm, one of their kings, who reigned conjointly with his father Cynegils, sent an envoy to him named Eumer, to whom he gave audience on April 19, Easter eve, at one of his royal residences on the Derwent. While he spake with the king, Eumer, in obedience to the treacherous order of his master, struck at Eadwine with a poisoned dagger. Lilla, the king's faithful thegn, saw the coming blow, and stepping before his lord, shielded him with his own body; he was slain, and the blow was so fiercely given that the weapon passed through him and wounded the king. The assassin was at once slain by another of Eadwine's thegns. A new cause of anxiety quickly followed this terrible scene, for that night the queen bore a daughter whom they called Eanflæd. When Eadwine thanked his gods for his daughter's birth, Paulinus who was standing by told him that his thanks were due to Christ, for that the queen's safety was an answer to the prayers that he had offered up for her to the Lord. Pleased at his words, and softened by the events of the day, Eadwine answered that, if he was successful in war against the West Saxons, he would serve Christ, and, as a pledge that he would keep his word, he gave the bishop his newly-born daughter,

Birth and baptism of Eanflæd.

that he might consecrate her to God. On June 7, Whitsuneve, for Pentecost and Easter were held by the early Church as seasons specially suitable for baptisms, Paulinus baptized the infant, together with eleven of her attendants, the first-fruits of Northumbria.

Eadwine's hesitations.

Although Eadwine was completely successful in his war against the West Saxons, he could not at once bring himself to accept baptism. Ever since the birth of his daughter he had ceased to worship idols, and on his return from the war he would listen to the teaching of Paulinus, and discuss it with his chief men or "witan." More often he would sit in silence, thinking deeply over the great step that he was almost persuaded to take, though his kingly pride and habitual cautiousness still held him back. Æthelburh, who must have watched the signs of his mental struggle with deep anxiety, was encouraged in her efforts for his conversion by letters which she and her husband received at this time from the pope. If, as Bede says, they were written by Boniface V., they must have been delayed on their way, for Boniface died on October 25, 625, and as the writer speaks of Eadwine as slow to hear the Gospel, we may perhaps believe that the name Boniface is a mistake for that of his successor Honorius. In the letter to Eadwine the pope dwells on the wretchedness of heathenism compared with the worship of God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, the Indivisible Trinity, and urges him to follow the example of Æthelbert, destroy his idols, and accept the religion of Christ. As tokens of his regard he sent him a shirt of proof, adorned with gold, and a warrior's cloak. To Æthelburh he wrote urging her to be constant in her endeavours to save her unbelieving husband, to pray for him without ceasing, and to do all in her power to set before him the beauty of Christianity. His gifts to her were a silver mirror and a gilded ivory comb. Still Eadwine hesitated, until one day, as he sat alone pondering these things, Paulinus came to him, laid his right hand upon the king's head, and asked him in solemn tones if he remembered that sign. The king trembled, and would have cast himself at his feet, but the bishop took his hand, and speaking in his usual voice reminded him of the promise which he had made to the

stranger in the darkness before Rædwald's palace. Eadwine said that he would keep his word, and would hold a council with his ealdormen and thegns, so that, if he and they felt alike, all might be baptized together.

He assembled his witan near Goodmanham, in the present East Riding, where the king's temple then stood. When he began to ask each of the "wise men" in turn what he thought of the new teaching, Coifi, the chief priest, replied with undisguised materialism of feeling that, for his part, he had not found his religion profitable, for though none of the king's thegns had served the gods more faithfully than he, many had received larger favours from the king, and that if the gods had been good for anything, they would have done more for him, so if on examination the new religion seemed to be the more powerful, he was ready to accept it. His words were approved by the hearers. Then spake one of the great nobles, a man of loftier soul: "So methinks, O king, is the life of man on earth, as if, while you and your nobles and thegns are feasting on a winter's night, with the fire blazing in the midst of your hall, and the rain and storm raging outside, a sparrow should fly into the hall by one door and fly out by another. For the moment that he is inside he is in warmth and shelter, and then again he goes out into the wintry weather and is seen no more. So, for a short space man's life is before our eyes, but of what is before or what follows it, we know nothing. If then this new teaching can enlighten us as to these things, by all means let us hearken to it." After others had spoken to a like purport, Coifi proposed that Paulinus should tell them about God. The bishop rose up, and at the king's bidding preached to them. He was a tall thin man, slightly bent, with dark hair, sallow face, and aquiline nose, and with the black piercing eyes of his Italian race, a striking contrast to the stalwart, blue-eyed, fair-haired English before him, who regarded him with reverence and some degree of awe. When he had ended his words, Coifi, whom they seem to have raised to a higher frame of mind, declared that he had long been convinced of the vanity of their religion, and that now he knew the truth, and saw that it was the way of life and eternal happiness, and he proposed to the king that they should over-

His conversion, 627.

throw their heathen temples and altars. On this, Eadwine declared his renunciation of idolatry, and confessed the faith of Christ. Who, he asked, would be the first to overthrow the altars of the idols and profane the sacred enclosures? "I will be he," said Coifi, "for who could more fittingly display the wisdom that God has given us by destroying the things that I worshipped in my folly?" With that he called for a war-horse and weapons, armed himself, bestrode the horse, and rode towards the temple. There all the people looked on in wonder, thinking him mad, for it was contrary to their religion that the high priest should bear arms or ride except upon a mare, a curious survival of the primitive sentiment that priests were subject to certain taboos. As soon as he drew near, he hurled his spear against the temple, and then he and those with him set fire to the building, and destroyed the sacred enclosures. Eadwine returned to York, the capital of Deira, and at once caused a church to be built there of wood, for he was in too great haste to wait for a stone building. It was dedicated to St. Peter, and within its rude walls the king received instruction as a catechumen. On Easter eve, April 11, 627, Eadwine was baptized, together with his two sons by his Mercian wife, and others of his household and lords. Thus did the words of encouragement which Boniface wrote to Justus receive an unlooked-for fulfilment.

His power.

By the conversion of Eadwine Christianity gained the support of the most powerful of the English kings. Bede reckons him, along with Ælle, Æthelbert, and Rædwald, among the seven kings who were recognised as superior in kingdoms beyond their own dominions, and says that he exercised authority over all the kingdoms of the Britons, and of the English except Kent, where, it is said, he did not require submission on account of his marriage with Æthelburh. In the North he subdued the Picts of the district to the east of the Avon, and took from them their stronghold, which was thenceforth called after him Eadwinesburg, or Edinburgh. Extension northwards, however, was not a special object with him; he was the representative of the kingly line of Deira, his capital was York, not Bamborough, the royal city of the exiled house of Bernicia, and his policy was generally directed by Deiran

rather than Bernician interests. He conquered two small British kingdoms lying to the south of Deira, which thenceforward seems to have covered the whole of our present Yorkshire, marched through the north of the present Cheshire, already wasted by Æthelfrith, defeated the Welsh at the Long Mountain in Shropshire, and then striking through North Wales conquered Mona, or Anglesey, the stronghold of the kings of Gwynedd, and is said to have driven Cadwallon,[1] the son and successor of Cadvan, to take refuge in Ireland. It is supposed with much probability that he was the first English king who assumed the title of Bretwalda, or ruler of the Britons, and that he took it after his victories over Cadwallon. In later years, however, the title was loosely applied to the four earlier, and three later kings who are described as exercising authority over kingdoms other than their own in the heptarchic period. Eadwine's supremacy over other English kingdoms was founded on the decay of the power of East Anglia, which waned rapidly after the death of Rædwald; he brought East Anglia into close dependence on himself, and extended his immediate kingdom over the valley of the lower Trent, and apparently over Lindsey, the district to the north and east of the Wash. His superiority was acknowledged in Middle England, and the king of the Mercians, then a small people settled, as their name implies, on the marches or borders of the Britons, seems, before Eadwine's conversion, to have been his ally as well as one of his subordinates, for Eadwine's first wife was, it will be remembered, a Mercian lady. This alliance may have led to his war with the West Saxons, the neighbours and constant enemies of the Mercians; he defeated them, and forced them to acknowledge his superiority.

In Northumbria his rule was strict and orderly to a degree hitherto unknown among the English. Travelling became safe; the roads which the Romans had carried over the wild moorlands and through the thick forests of the North were again frequented, and Bede records that in his time it was a common saying that in Eadwine's reign a woman with her

[1] Generally called Cædwalla by English writers, but as this form of the name was borne by a West Saxon king whom we shall meet with later, it may save confusion to call the Briton by his Welsh name. On the name Cadwallon see Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, p. 286.

newly-born child might cross the island from sea to sea and none would do her harm. Eadwine was careful for his people even in small matters, and caused posts to be set up at the springs along the high roads, each with a brass cup hung upon it, for the use of travellers; and such was the love or fear that men had of him, that these cups were neither injured nor stolen. If we think for a moment how many centuries of civilisation passed between that time and the establishment here and there of public drinking-fountains, and how prone the English loafer of to-day is to damage or steal things dedicated to the public convenience, the kindly thoughtfulness of the Northumbrian king, and the orderly character of his government, will seem little short of amazing. He reigned with much magnificence. His capital York, the city of the Cæsars, to which the English gave the name of Eoferwic, must in his time have been full of the monuments of the imperial race, of vast stone buildings which excited special admiration among a people accustomed to build of timber. These relics of Roman times seem to have exercised a strong influence on Eadwine's mind, for, as became a king who held an *imperium* over other kings, he adopted something of Cæsarian state. When he rode with his nobles, either in peace or war, banners were displayed before him, and even when he walked through the streets of York, one went before him bearing aloft a Roman *tufa*, a tuft of feathers fastened on a spear. Paulinus doubtless encouraged his admiration for things connected with the city alike of Augustus and St. Peter.

His state.

Eadwine's power and state concern the history of our Church. At no other time between the fifth and the ninth centuries did any English king hold a like supremacy in this island, nor was there perhaps any such apparent approach to national unity as that which was brought about by his power until the time of Egbert. His conversion held out a reasonable prospect that the Church, into which he was received by baptism, would speedily triumph over heathenism in every English people, would be independent of any Celtic help, and would be in a position to dictate terms to the hostile Church of the Britons. Matters were ordered otherwise. Eadwine's imperial power was due partly to political

Apparent prospects of the Church.

causes of a transient nature, and partly to his personal ability. Even in Northumbria he failed to found a stable government, and his attempt to make Deira the predominant partner, though destined to eventual success, proved premature. National unity was not attained by the English until centuries after his day, not indeed until the English Church had done much to break down the primitive tendency towards tribal division. Yet, though Eadwine's political power was short-lived, it had some abiding effects on the Church. He used it for the spread of the Gospel in Northumbria, and the districts which he had annexed to his immediate kingdom, and in East Anglia. In Deira, the home of his house and the seat of his power, he was able to do far more for the evangelisation of his subjects than time allowed him to accomplish in Bernicia, and there the partiality that he seems to have shown for Roman institutions must have strengthened the reverence for Rome inculcated by Paulinus, and have helped to make Deira the stronghold, as it afterwards became, of the Roman party in the North.

Eadwine, probably at the time of his baptism, gave Paulinus authority to make York the seat of his bishopric, and bade him set about building a church of stone, to be dedicated to St. Peter. The walls were not raised to their full height at the king's death, and it was finished by the next Christian King of Northumbria. It was a basilican church with transepts, and was built about the wooden oratory hastily raised for Eadwine's baptism, which was preserved with reverent care inside the new building, as the hut and oratory of St. Francis are still preserved within the gorgeous church of Sta. Maria degli Angeli at Assisi. Half ruined and completely restored some forty years later, destroyed and rebuilt in the eighth century, ruined and again rebuilt in the eleventh, again burnt and again rebuilt, and exhibiting alterations and additions of each great period of English architecture, the minster of St. Peter at York, in its present stately form, various in detail, and beautiful, if not absolutely harmonious, as a whole, is the representative of the little wooden building of Eadwine's baptism, and of the basilica which he and Paulinus planned and began to raise about it. In the wooden church Paulinus baptized three of Æthelburh's

Preaching of Paulinus.

children, of whom two died while still clad in the white garments worn by the newly baptized, and there too he baptized others of the king's house, and of his nobles and thegns not a few. He did not, however, stay quietly at York; for he was generally in the king's company, which implies that he was constantly moving from place to place; for in those days, and indeed long afterwards, the king and his court were mainly supported by the produce of the royal estates, which they consumed on the spot, and they therefore rode continually from one royal "vill," or estate, to another, never staying long at any of them, lest they should consume all the supplies. In addition, then, to any missionary tours which he made independently, Paulinus had abundant opportunities of preaching in different parts of Northumbria as he went about with the court, and the interest that the king and queen took in his work was enough of itself to draw crowds to hear him. Deira, where the king chiefly resided, was the principal scene of his labours. He was often at the royal residence at Catterick, on the Swale, the site of a Roman military station, and when there, would baptize in the river, because no church or oratory had yet been built. At another of the king's residences called Campodonum, probably Doncaster, which was also a Roman station, he built a church of wood, which was burnt by the heathen after Eadwine's death; its stone altar was however undestroyed, and was preserved in a neighbouring monastery. In one visit which he paid to Bernicia, the people showed great willingness to receive the Gospel, and during the thirty-six days that he stayed in company with the king and queen at Yeavering, in the Cheviot country, he was constantly employed, from morning till night, instructing the multitudes that came to him from the surrounding country, and baptizing them in the Glen which flows close by. Other visits to Bernicia rest merely on tradition, though he doubtless went at other times to work among a people that so warmly responded to his teaching. Nevertheless his visits to them must have been short, for throughout the whole country not a single church was built, nor an altar raised, nor even a cross to mark a station for preaching. He carried the Gospel also to Lindsey, and there the first-fruit of his work was Blæcca, the reeve of Lincoln, the king's representative in the city, who

himself believed and his whole house. Blæcca built a fine church of stone upon the steep hill which had been the site, first of a British town, and then of the Roman colony of Lindum; it stood on the Ermine street, within, and almost opposite to, the massive northern gate which still recalls to the memory the Roman rule in Britain; its site, to the north-west of the present minster, is doubtless marked by the church now known as St. Paul's, a corruption of the name of the first preacher of the Gospel to the English inhabitants of Lincoln.

Blæcca's church was the scene of the consecration of an Archbishop of Canterbury. Justus, who lived long enough to hear the joyful news of Eadwine's conversion, died on November 10, 627. By his death Paulinus became the only bishop of the English Church; for Romanus of Rochester had been sent by Justus as an envoy to Rome, and had been drowned in the Mediterranean. Honorius, one of the disciples of Gregory the Great and, according to tradition, a member of the first mission to the English, was chosen to succeed Justus, and was consecrated by Paulinus in Blæcca's church at Lincoln probably early in 628. Paulinus also accompanied Eadwine on a visit which he made to his other South-Humbrian dominion, the valley of the Trent, and baptized a large number of people in that river at a place called Tiovulfingaceaster. This place, the name of which preserves the memory of a tribe of Anglian settlers as well as of some Roman military station, was traditionally identified with Southwell, where the minster was believed to have been built by Paulinus, and was for centuries closely connected with the see of York. The tradition is clearly wrong, for Southwell is not on the Trent, and it has been conjectured, with at least some probability, that the place may be identified with Littleborough, where the Roman road from York to Lincoln crossed the Trent by a ford. In this, as in all his journeys, Paulinus was accompanied by his deacon James, of whom we shall hear later as a faithful and devoted minister of the Church.

Honorius, Abp. of Cant. 628?-653.

Soon after his own baptism Eadwine used his influence with Earpwald, the East Anglian king, Rædwald's son and successor, to persuade him to follow his example; and probably in 628 Earpwald and his people renounced idolatry and were baptized. A short time

Conversion of East Anglia.

afterwards the king appears to have met with a martyr's death, for he was slain by a heathen named Ricbert; his people relapsed into idolatry, and for three years seem to have been in a state of anarchy. Then, in 631, Sigbert, a son of Rædwald's queen, who had been banished by his stepfather, and had taken refuge in Gaul, returned to England, and made himself master of East Anglia. During his exile he had received baptism, and had become a learned as well as a deeply religious man. Learning was then flourishing in Gaul, where the old municipal schools had given place either to schools attached to cathedral churches, such as existed at Clermont, in Auvergne, where Gregory of Tours was educated by his uncle the bishop; at Vienne, where Bishop Desiderius taught grammar to the displeasure of Gregory the Great, who told him that the praises of Jove and of Christ should not be spoken by the same mouth; at Arles, Poitiers, and other places, or to schools attached to monasteries as at Luxeuil, St. Vaudrille, and Lerins. At one of these schools, and possibly from followers of St. Columban, Sigbert had received his education. He desired that his people should be converted and instructed, and Archbishop Honorius was able to send him a missionary from Canterbury.

St. Felix.

There had come to Honorius from Gaul a Burgundian named Felix, who had been ordained in his native land, though he was not perhaps a bishop when he came over to England. Burgundy, and specially the districts about the Vosges and the Jura, was largely under the influence of Columban's mission; it was the land of the monasteries planted by him at Annegray and Luxeuil, and by his disciple Deicolus at Lure, and the two ducal families which divided the country were strongly attached to the Scottish missionaries, and took a prominent part in the monastic movement. It was perhaps from Irish monks that Felix imbibed a desire for missionary work. He came over to England to preach the Gospel, and put himself under the direction of Honorius. Though he was probably connected with the mission of Columban in Gaul, he kept Easter after the Roman custom. Indeed, the Celtic computation of Easter, about which Columban felt so strongly, seems to have taken

no hold in Gaul apart from Armorica. At a council held at Orleans in 541, the bishops of Gaul adopted a cycle made by Victorius of Aquitaine, an abbot of Rome, which included the twenty-first day of the moon, and was the basis of the cycle finally adopted at Rome. No Breton bishop was present at that council, and the Armorican Church for a time adhered to the old cycle which the British Church had originally received from Rome, but we hear nothing of any difference about Easter in connection with Brittany after 590. When Columban came over to Gaul, he in vain poured ridicule on the cycle of Victorius; the Frankish bishops refused to abandon it, and his own followers must soon have given up the Celtic Easter for which he contended so warmly; for when Abbot Eustace, his successor at Luxeuil, was accused by a false brother of following certain usages established by Columban, which were not those of the Church at large, the Celtic Easter was not among them. Felix, therefore, could not have found any difficulty in submitting himself to the direction of Honorius, who conferred episcopal orders upon him, if he had not already received them, appointed him bishop for the East Anglians, and sent him to Sigbert. The story that Felix had baptized the king in Gaul is a mere legend; that he had, as we are told on better authority, become acquainted with him there, is quite possible, though Bede's narrative seems to imply that his coming to England was unconnected with Sigbert's accession. Sigbert gave him Dunwich, now swallowed up by the sea—for the present Dunwich on the Suffolk coast belongs to a far later time—to be his episcopal city. With his help the king formed a school for boys in imitation of those that he had seen in Gaul. It was probably connected with the bishop's church at Dunwich, and Felix obtained masters and teachers for it, such as those who taught in Kent. That there were teachers systematically working in Kent at this early time is known to us only by this passage in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History;* that there was a school in the monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul at Canterbury, we may take as certain, and it is probable that there would be another attached to the bishop's church at Rochester. From its earliest days, then, the English Church

took upon itself the work of education, and evangelisation and the instruction of youth went hand in hand. The labours of Felix bore good and abundant fruit, the troubles and wickedness of the land passed away, and the people continued stedfast in the faith and in godly living.

St. Fursey.

Some time after the coming of Felix, an Irish monk named Fursey or Fursa arrived in East Anglia. He was of noble birth, and is said to have been the son of a prince of Munster, and great-nephew of the famous St. Brendan, the voyager, who founded the monastery of Clonfert. Brendan, who died in 577, is said to have baptized and taught him; he was learned in the Scriptures and in monastic discipline, and had himself founded a monastery in Ireland. Full of the fervid spirit and eager desire to preach Christ in foreign lands, which were conspicuous in his great-uncle and in many other saints of his Church, he left Ireland and came to East Anglia, accompanied by his two brothers Ultan and Foillan, a bishop, and two priests named Gobban and Dicuil. Sigbert received him with honour, for he had probably learnt in Gaul to venerate the Irish missionaries, and though nothing is said as to any connection between Fursey and Felix, we may be sure that the Irish monk received a warm welcome from the bishop, whose native land owed so much to the labours of Columban. Fursey's preaching and the holiness of his life were the means of converting many of the East Anglians to Christianity, and of strengthening and edifying others who already believed. After a while he fell sick, and being deeply impressed with the uncertainty of life, determined to give himself to prayer and watchfulness. Accordingly, he lost no time in building a monastery on the site of an ancient fortress, the present Burgh Castle in Suffolk, which he had received from Sigbert, and took up his abode there with his little company. Before long, however, he determined to spend the rest of his life as an anchoret, he withdrew altogether from active work, ceased to preach, and even gave up the care of his monastery to his companions. His house was enriched in later years by the kings and nobles of East Anglia. Before his retirement from work, Fursey used to relate, for the edification of the penitents who came to consult him at his monastery, certain visions which he had

had in Ireland during a time of bodily sickness and ecstatic exaltation of mind. These visions, which were held of much account both in the English Church and on the continent, belong to a class of narratives which were the delight and terror of mediæval times, and suggested the plan of one of the greatest poems of the world. From the wild narrative of the Irish monk to the sublime conceptions of the Florentine poet is certainly a long step, yet Fursey's visions of the heavenly host, of devils, and of the purgatorial flames through which he was led by angel-guides, seemed awful and convincing to the men of his time. They can have lost nothing by his manner of relating them, for they were so real to him that one who heard him tell them on a bitterly cold day, when he was clad only in a thin garment, saw the sweat pour from him while he spoke, as though it had been the height of summer.

Meanwhile a terrible disaster had befallen the Church in Northumbria. Either in 626, or 627, the year of Eadwine's baptism, the kingship of the Mercians passed to one of the royal line named Penda, who was then in his fiftieth year. He was a man of remarkable energy and ability, and raised the Mercians from a mere tribe to be a powerful people. He shook off the Northumbrian supremacy and established a rival state in the Midlands. The rise of Mercia was probably helped by the conversion of Eadwine, who as a Christian may possibly, like Æthelbert of Kent, have become less prone to war than he had been in his heathen years, for he does not appear to have invaded East Anglia after the murder of Earpwald, though the relapse of the people and the anarchy among them must have implied a certain revolt from his supremacy. Moreover, Penda was a heathen and must therefore have had the goodwill of all who, as heathen, regarded the supremacy of a Christian king with displeasure and alarm. As the champion of heathenism he used the strife of religions to forward his political designs, and established his dominion over the whole of the Midlands from the valley of the Trent to the Welsh border. He also invaded the territory of the West Saxons and apparently conquered from them the land of the Hwiccas. Causes of quarrel between him and Eadwine could not have been wanting.

Overthrow of Eadwine's kingdom, 633.

The dominion of Eadwine over the Trent valley and Lindsey threatened to bar him from extending his power eastwards, and he determined to attack the Northumbrian king. In the rise of Mercia, Cadwallon of Gwynedd, who had returned from exile and regained his kingdom, saw an opportunity for avenging the defeats which Eadwine had inflicted upon him, and, Christian as he was by profession, he made alliance with the heathen Penda against him. On October 12, 633, Eadwine met the allied armies on a wild moorland to the south of the Don called Haethfelth, or Hatfield Chase. He was slain in a fierce battle, and his army completely routed, all who escaped death fleeing every man to his home. One of Eadwine's sons by his Mercian wife fell with him, the other, named Eadfrith, escaped and took refuge with Penda, for he feared to fall into the hands of the Britons. Penda soon turned southwards; he had not invaded Northumbria with any idea of conquering that vast kingdom, for his policy, at least at that time, seems to have been directed wholly towards the extension of his dominion south of the Humber, and he left his ally to follow up their joint victory. Cadwallon, in spite of his nominal Christianity, was a barbarous foe, and the Christians of Northumbria met with no mercy. Though they worshipped the same Lord whom he owned, he reckoned them no better than heathen, for, as we have seen, the Britons would hold no communion with the English Christians, and would not even count them as fellow-worshippers of Christ. Full of hatred against the Northumbrians, alike as the enemies of his people, and as the disciples of men who taught customs contrary to those cherished by the Britons as signs of their national life, he spared none, but tortured and slew by cruel deaths all who fell into his hands, respecting neither the weakness of women nor the innocence of little children. Boasting that he would destroy the whole English race in Britain, he led his army from one district to another, leaving every place to which he came desolate and without inhabitant.

The tidings brought to Æthelburh and Paulinus of Eadwine's defeat and death were terribly confirmed, for one came to York bearing the king's head, which had probably been cut off by his enemies after his death. They buried

it in the unfinished minster in a porch or chapel dedicated to St. Gregory. Eadwine's zeal for the faith, and his death in battle against a heathen king, caused him to be reverenced as a saint and martyr. Paulinus, seeing no hope of safety except in flight, took with him the widowed queen, whom eight years before he had accompanied to her new home, left Northumbria by sea, and sailed to Kent under the escort of one of Eadwine's most valiant thegns. How far he was justified in leaving his flock may be questioned; he doubtless held that he was acting in accordance with the Lord's command to His apostles as to flight from persecution. Æthelburh took with her Eanflæd, her little son Wuscfrea, and one of her husband's grandsons by his Mercian wife; and Paulinus carried away from York a large gold cross and the chalice used in the service of the altar, which were long afterwards preserved in the cathedral church of Canterbury.

Flight of Paulinus.

The fugitives were kindly received by Eadbald. At the request of the king and Archbishop Honorius, Paulinus took charge of the bishopric of Rochester which had remained without a bishop since the death of Romanus some six years before. Eadwine had joined with his brother-in-law Eadbald in sending a request to Pope Honorius that when one of the metropolitans of Canterbury and York should die, his successor might be consecrated by the survivor. Though this had expressly been laid down by Gregory, they considered their request necessary, for neither Honorius nor Paulinus had received a pall, and Felix was the only bishop of the English Church left to assist at a consecration. The pope's answer, dated June 11, came to Canterbury late in the autumn of 634; he sent palls both to Honorius and Paulinus directing that when either of them died, the other should consecrate a successor to him. But as Paulinus did not receive his pall until after he had lost the see of York, he was never an archbishop in fact, and, as we shall see, the line of archbishops of York did not begin until the eighth century. He died at Rochester on October 10, 644, and his pall remained in the church there. Along with the palls, the pope sent a letter to Eadwine, of whose death he had not heard. Very sorrowful must have been the feelings with which

Æthelburh, and Paulinus, and the Church in Kent read the pope's expressions of joy at the king's faith and zeal, his exhortation to him to remain stedfast, his advice to him that he should often cause the works of Gregory to be read to him, and his concluding prayer that God would guard him. Æthelburh did not remain in her brother's court; the blow which had fallen upon her caused her to feel a distaste for the things of this world; she founded a monastery at Lyminge and there ended her days. The foundations of her little church may still be seen, and St. Æthelburga's well and Tatta's Leas at Lyminge still preserve the memory of the saintly queen to whose gentle influence the Church owed so much.

The hateful year, 633-634.

At Eadwine's death, his kingdom split into its two component parts. The sons of Æthelfrith, who had been baptized and instructed in Christianity during their sojourn among the Picts and Scots, returned from exile, and the Bernicians made the eldest of them, Eanfrith, their king, while the Deirans chose Eadwine's cousin, Osric, who had been baptized by Paulinus. Neither king had any secure power, for Cadwallon occupied York and was ravaging far and wide. Times of general calamity, of defeat, pestilence, or famine sorely try the faith of new converts from heathenism; they are tempted to regard their troubles as consequences of their desertion of the gods of their race, and to return to their former worship in the hope of appeasing their anger. Both Osric and Eanfrith apostatized, probably in order to satisfy their warriors, and both were slain by Cadwallon. The memory of the year that succeeded Eadwine's death, the year of the apostasy of the Northumbrian kings and of Cadwallon's ravages, was so abhorred by the Christians that, in later days, it was commonly spoken of as "the hateful year." The short reigns of the apostate kings were treated as though they had not been, and the regnal years of the next Christian king of the Northumbrians were reckoned from Eadwine's death, in like manner as the regnal years of Charles II. are reckoned from the execution of Charles I.

James the deacon.

Yet even during this hateful year the candle of the Church was not extinguished in Northumbria. Though Paulinus left his bishopric, his deacon James remained, faithful and undismayed. He saw the over-

throw of the earthly power which upheld the Church; he saw violence, death, and apostasy on every side; he heard the reasons which satisfied his ecclesiastical chief that it was his duty to depart; he knew that Paulinus and his company were going to a land where they would find safety and honour, yet he would not leave God's people in their day of trial, nor cease from the work to which his Lord had called him. He took up his abode in a village near Catterick, where in happier times he had often stayed with Paulinus and Eadwine, and there laboured with much success, and baptized many converts. He was well skilled in music, and when peace was restored to the land taught his converts, along with the other customs of the Roman Church, the Roman chants composed by Gregory the Great. The English were a musical people, and church music held a prominent place in the instruction which they received from their Christian teachers. The clergy of the Roman obedience taught the *cantus Romanus* or *cantus Gregorianus* used at Canterbury; while the Scots, who for a time carried on their work, taught some mode of chanting of which nothing seems to be known. James was alive thirty years after the "hateful year," and, as we shall see, was then one of the leaders of the Roman party in the North. The village in which he lived and worked so long was called by his name, but cannot be identified, for the guess that Akeburgh near Catterick is a corruption of Jacobsburgh is not satisfactory; even the date of his death is unknown, but it may truly be said of him that his name liveth for evermore.

After the death of the apostate Eanfrith, his brother Oswald gathered a force to oppose Cadwallon. He had been baptized in Iona together with twelve of his followers, and it was as a Christian that he called on the Northumbrians to support him; he is said to have been accompanied by the twelve nobles who had been baptized with him, and his army is described as "strengthened by faith in Christ." He encamped on some high land called Heavenfield, and took up a position immediately behind the Roman wall, and seven or eight miles north of Hexham. Thither Cadwallon, at the head of a far larger host, advanced to attack him. The night before the battle, as Oswald slept in his tent

The battle of Heavenfield, end of 634?

fully armed, with his head upon a pillow, he had a vision of St. Columba, who appeared to him standing in the midst of the camp with his head reaching to heaven, and shielding with his shining robe all save a small portion of the English army. The saint announced himself, and bade Oswald give battle at once, for the Lord would deliver his enemies into his hand. This vision was told to Adamnan, the ninth abbot of Iona and the biographer of St. Columba, by his predecessor, Failbhe, who heard it from Oswald himself. Oswald at once ordered his army to be drawn up, caused his men hastily to make a cross of timber and erect it on a little eminence as a standard for his troops, and himself held it with both his hands while they filled in the earth about it. When it was firmly fixed he addressed his army in a loud voice, saying, "Let us all kneel and join in prayer to the Almighty, the living and true Lord, that of His mercy He will defend us from our proud and cruel foe, for He knoweth that the cause for which we fight is just." All knelt with him, and when their prayer was over, they charged the host of the Britons. The enemy gave way at once, and the English pressed them hard, so that the battle rolled eastwards, until, according to tradition, the Britons made a stand about two miles from the spot where Oswald had set up the cross, and were finally overthrown there. Cadwallon fled southwards until he reached a stream called Denisesburn, probably Rowley Water, where the English came up with him and slew him. Oswald's victory was complete, and the British host, which its leader had declared invincible, was totally destroyed. The place of the English camp is still called St. Oswald's, and a little chapel dedicated to the king probably marks the spot where he set up the cross as a standard for his army. It was then the only cross that had been erected in Bernicia. It stood for many years, and splinters of it were believed to work miracles. The monks of Hexham used to celebrate mass at the place each year on the day of Oswald's death, and before long built a church there.

The mission of the Scots.

The victory of Heavenfield gave Oswald the kingship of the whole of Northumbria, for as Æthelfrith's son he was acknowledged by the Bernicians as their natural lord, while the Deirans received him both as the son of Eadwine's sister Acha, and as their deliverer

from the ravages of the Britons. Under him the Church in Northumbria entered on a new and more vigorous life, and a period began during which far and wide in England the religion of Christ won a succession of permanent victories over heathenism, and took a firm hold on the people. The principal agents in this religious progress were Scots who came from Iona and Ireland, and carried on and extended the work begun by the Roman missionaries. Their devotion and the beauty of their lives deserve our admiration, the work which they accomplished, our gratitude. One by one the Roman missionaries had passed away until very few could have been left in England; fresh labourers were urgently needed, for the harvest was plenteous and labourers few. The followers of St. Columba willingly offered themselves to the Lord of the harvest, and gathered abundantly into His garner.

Yet, while we do them honour, we must not be led either by our admiration for them and their work, or by any narrow-minded desire to minimise our obligations to Rome, to underrate what Rome and the continental missionaries did for our Church. It is true that the hopes of Gregory and Augustine to some extent failed of fulfilment, and some have inconsiderately spoken of what they did as though it was of small account compared with the work accomplished by the Scots. Let us give to both their due. During the thirty-seven years which had passed between the landing of Augustine and the battle of Heavenfield, three organised bishoprics had been established,—at Canterbury and at Rochester directly by the Romans, and in East Anglia by a Burgundian bishop sent from Canterbury. The Kentish and East Anglian peoples had been converted, and become settled in the faith. The people of Lindsey had heard the Gospel from Paulinus, and though the East Saxons had relapsed into idolatry, they were not as those who had never heard the Gospel; in the midst of heathen London there still stood the minster of Mellitus as a witness against the apostasy of the city. Before long, another Italian bishop became the apostle of the West Saxons, and at a later time the South Saxons were converted by an English bishop who was the head of the Roman party in the North. At the accession of

Results of the Roman mission.

Oswald there must have been much heathen darkness in Northumbria. Yet the work of Paulinus in Deira, during the six years of Eadwine's rule as a Christian king, cannot have been undone by a single year of trouble, and was carried on successfully in one district by his deacon James. Comparatively little had, it is true, been done in Bernicia, but Oswald's appeal to his army, which must have been largely if not entirely gathered from that country, shows that even there Paulinus had brought to many at least some knowledge of God and of the way of salvation. A foundation had been laid on which others could build. The Midlands lay untouched by the Gospel, and there the Scots broke new ground. Yet, the work of the Romans must have had an indirect effect even in those districts, for the hold of heathenism on the people must have been weakened by their contact with the Christianity of their neighbours. And, besides the measure of success which attended the work of the Roman missionaries, it must be remembered that they opened the way for the Gospel among a people hitherto in ignorance of it, and that it was not until they had done this that the Scots attempted to preach to their heathen neighbours. Roman missionaries first brought the Gospel to the English, and founded a Church which became the bond of their ecclesiastical unity, and in later times a pattern for their national unity. They set an example to the Scots and prepared the way for their missionaries, they made a good and substantial beginning of a work which others continued for thirty years with zeal and success, they laboured, and other men entered into their labours. It may perhaps be as well to repeat the warning that we must not be led by any vague expression, such as "the Celtic Church," to confuse the Scots and the Britons. The British Church contributed nothing to the evangelisation of the English people, the Church of England is neither its successor nor in any degree its heir, and it has not inaptly been said of the English Church that "the Roman planted, the Scot watered, the Briton did nothing."

AUTHORITIES.—This chapter is almost wholly founded on Bede's *Historia Eccles.*, with help from the works of Canon Bright and Mr. Plummer as before. Green's *Making of England*, London, 1881, may be consulted for an account of Eadwine's dominions and rule, but should be compared with Professor Rhys's *Celtic Britain*, pp. 129-131, 136-138, London, S.P.C.K. For the cathedral and monastic schools of Gaul see Guizot's *Histoire de la Civilisation en France*, Leçon XV. Paris, 1859, and for the work of St. Columban and his followers, Jonas, *Vita S. Columbani* and Montalembert as before. The ancient life of St. Fursey used by Bede is in *Acta SS.*, Bolland., Jan. 16, and elsewhere, and is re-edited in *Acta SS. Hiberniæ*, Edinburgh and London, 1888, see also Bp. Healy's *Insula Sanctorum*, u.s. For the site of the battle of Heavenfield see Raine's *Priory of Hexham*, Introd., Surtees Soc., Nos. 44, 46, 1864-1865.

CHAPTER V

ST. AIDAN

As soon as Oswald became king he sought to bring the whole of his people to the Christian faith. To this end he sent to Iona, where he had himself been baptized, and asked his former teachers to send him a bishop to teach his people; for, as we have already seen, Christians in early days always, if possible, began a mission by entrusting it to a bishop, thus providing at once for the institution of an apostolic ministry, confirmation, the consecration of churches, and other like episcopal acts necessary to the well-being of the future Church. The elder monks of Iona met in council under their abbot Seghine, the fifth in succession from St. Columba, and a member of his house, and in accordance with the king's request sent him a bishop. Bede does not tell us his name, probably because his charitable feelings kept him from recording the name of a man whom he was forced unwillingly to represent in an unfavourable light. That the bishop's name was Corman is perhaps a mere fabrication of the sixteenth century, for, so far as is known, the assertion does not rest on earlier or better authority than that of Boece. He went, but soon came back, and appeared before the council of the elder monks declaring that he could do no good to such a wild race as the Northumbrians. A long debate was held, for the monks were unwilling to give up their effort for the salvation of the Northumbrian people, and were deeply grieved at the rejection of the teacher whom they had sent. At last one of the brethren named Aidan addressed the bishop saying, "It seems to me, my brother, that

The mission of Aidan, 635.

you have been somewhat too harsh with these ignorant men, and have not dealt with them according to the apostle's maxim, first making your teaching easy, and then going on little by little until they could receive the deep things of God." Every eye was at once turned towards the speaker, all approved of what he said, and with one accord declared that he was the right man to send to teach the ignorant and unbelieving, for they saw that he had the wisdom necessary for the work. Accordingly they caused him to be consecrated bishop. It will be remembered that "the family of Columba," as the monks of Iona and its dependencies were called, included bishops who were subject to the abbot, though he was only a priest, and never took upon himself to perform any episcopal functions, for while the bishop was personally subject to the abbot, the dignity and special character of his office were fully recognised. There would always be bishops residing either at Iona, or at some church dependent on the monastery, whence they could be sent for when occasion arose, and it is quite certain that Aidan received bishops' orders from one or more bishops, for Bede acknowledges his episcopal rank. He was probably consecrated not later than July 635, and at once set out on his mission.

Aidan did not establish himself at York, the city of the Roman mission. As Oswald chiefly resided in Bernicia, which under his rule became the more prominent of the two Northumbrian kingdoms, he settled there, and chose, as the place of his see and monastery, the little island of Lindisfarne, called since the eleventh century Holy Isle. His choice was directed partly by the love of retreat from the affairs of the world which was specially strong in the holy men of the Scots, and partly by the nearness of the island to Bamborough, the royal residence of the Bernician line. At Lindisfarne he and his monks were at once within easy distance of Oswald's court, and yet removed from the distractions of secular life. The island would have been wholly unsuited to be the dwelling-place of a bishop charged with the administration of an organised diocese, or the site of a cathedral church which was intended to be a centre of diocesan life, and to afford a pattern of worship to parochial churches. It was, however, a good place for an establishment which was to be

Lindisfarne.

both a monastery and a source of missionary activity, not a place to which strangers would commonly resort, but one where teachers might be trained and whence they might be sent forth to labour. It presented strong attractions to Aidan, for it must have reminded him of his island home, and have helped him to carry on its traditions, and it gave him a place of quiet retreat in the intervals between his missionary journeys. Lindisfarne is only partially an island, for at low tide it is connected with the mainland by two miles of wet sand. In extent, it is not more than three miles from north to south, and a mile and three-quarters from east to west. Aidan was soon joined there by many monks from Ireland, most, if not all, of them probably coming by way of Iona. His church was included in the "province," as it was called, of the abbot of Iona, and in the eyes of all the Scots of the mission the monastery of St. Columba was the head or stronghold of their Church. In its constitution Lindisfarne followed the model of Iona, though with a difference, for it was an episcopal see as well as a monastery. The bishop and all his clergy of every order were monks, and Aidan, in addition to his episcopal office, ruled the monastery as its abbot. His successors, however, though they too were monks, committed the charge of the monastery to an abbot whom they appointed with the advice of the brethren. The prerogative voice which the bishop seems to have exercised in the appointment had no parallel in Iona. As in Iona, the monks ate together in a refectory, and had other buildings for use in common; they dwelt in separate cells placed near together, and the abbot in a cell a little way apart. Aidan's church must have been rude and temporary, for another was built by his successor. While on their island the monks spent their time in devotion, study, and the cultivation of the ground.

Accompanied by some of his monks, Aidan constantly journeyed about on missionary tours. Wherever he went the people crowded to hear him, and the number of those who believed through his words, increased continually. At first he could not preach in English, and the king, who had learnt Erse while in exile at Iona, used to stand by him and tell the people what he was saying. Before his coming there was not, as we have seen, a single

The preaching of Aidan.

church in all Bernicia, and we read of only two in Deira, though there were probably more. Under his influence churches were built in several places, one at Bamborough, where he had a bed-chamber, and where he often stayed while making tours in the neighbourhood, and others on various royal estates. They were, no doubt, quite small buildings, made of timber and wattle, and covered, roof and sides, with a thatch of rushes. Nor must we think of them as parish churches, for the time of parochial organisation had not yet come. Some were not served by resident priests, and were merely used from time to time as centres for mission work. Aidan and his company would go to one of them, stay for a while preaching, administering the Blessed Sacraments, and working the surrounding district, and then either return to Lindisfarne, or go on to some other church, and after Aidan had left, no more services would be held in the little church until he, or some other missionary, paid another visit to the district. Other churches were attached to monasteries, which at this time began to be built in Northumbria on lands given by the king, and soon became permanent sources of religious instruction to the people dwelling near them. Although Aidan had many fellow-workers of his own race, he was too wise to be content that the Northumbrians should remain dependent upon foreign teachers. He formed a school at Lindisfarne, such as Felix established at Dunwich, and the Roman missionaries at Canterbury, and kept twelve English youths in the monastery, teaching them, in order that in after-years they might minister to their own people. Two at least of these youths became famous as bishops. Divine example caused the number twelve to be commonly fixed on as that of the disciples of a Christian teacher. Each of the monasteries founded by St. Benedict about Subiaco contained an abbot and twelve monks, Columba and Columban are each said to have left Ireland with twelve followers, and the same number occurs frequently at all periods in the records of monastic and collegiate foundations. So too, as we have seen, eleven attendants received baptism along with Eadwine's infant daughter Eanflæd, and twelve thegns followed Oswald into the baptismal water. The school at Lindisfarne did not stand alone; English lads were received into the other Northumbrian monasteries, founded

by the Scots, and were instructed in religious learning and monastic discipline. In reading of the rapid progress of the evangelisation of Northumbria under Aidan and his companions, we must not forget that they built upon a foundation laid by Paulinus. Like Paulinus, Aidan had the eager support of a powerful king, and unlike him he had no lack of fellow-workers. Far distant from Rome, the Roman mission gradually dwindled, as one after another was removed by death; and though the work of training up a native ministry was, as will be seen later, by no means neglected at Canterbury, time had not yet been given for it to yield a large supply of clergy, while the mission from Iona was constantly recruited by the coming of fresh teachers.

Aidan's character.

Yet the chief cause of Aidan's success as a missionary in Northumbria is to be found in his personal character. Bede is never weary of descanting on the beauty and holiness of his life, which, he says, answered to his preaching, for he was full of gentleness and piety. He despised earthly honours and riches, and would never accept anything save the little island on which he and his monks raised food enough to supply their daily needs. When great men visited him he received them hospitably, according to the custom at Iona, but he would never seek to gain their favour by gifts, and whatever they brought to him, he would distribute to the poor or apply to the redemption of those unjustly held in slavery. Many whom he redeemed from bondage became his disciples, were admitted into the band of his scholars, and were afterwards ordained by him to the priesthood. In striking contrast to the habits of the people round him were his abstinence and the purity of his life. He established the custom observed in Iona of fasting on Wednesdays and Fridays until the ninth hour, or three in the afternoon, except during the fifty days between Easter and Pentecost, kept by the primitive Church as a festal season. This custom was not of course peculiar to the Columbite monks; it was as ancient as the time of Clement of Alexandria (*fl.* 200) and his contemporary Tertullian, and was inculcated on the monks of the Thebaid by St. Pachomius, whose rule was made known in Europe by St. Jerome. On days other than fast days, Aidan and his monks followed the maxim of St.

Columba that the food of monks should be simple, and taken after mid-day. Knowing how strict the bishop's abstinence was, Oswald seldom invited him to feast with him and his thegns. When he was so bidden, he would bring one or two of his clergy with him, and as soon as he had eaten a little would leave the hall, and hasten away to read and pray with his brethren. His words were full of authority, and he was severe in his reproofs of sin; yet he was exceedingly tender and sympathetic, he consoled the sick, provided for the poor, and insisted on the duty of pitifulness. He had a full share of the warm-heartedness of his race together with some of its impulsiveness. Never, if he could help it, would he journey otherwise than on foot, and if as he walked he saw any, whether rich or poor, near his path, he would turn aside and go to them, and if he found that they were heathens would urge them to be baptized, and if they were already Christians would exhort them to stedfastness in the faith, to almsgiving, and other good works.

As became a follower of Columba he was never idle, and would not allow his attendants to waste any time. When they were not engaged in work he bade them exercise their minds on the Scriptures and specially the psalter, for the place which the psalms held in Christian worship suggested a ready means of keeping the mind employed on sacred things. In the primitive Church the singing of psalms and hymns, together with the use of the Lord's Prayer, was apparently the earliest form of public worship, apart from the sacramental words, and was customary at funerals at a very early date, for we are told that when St. Antony buried Paul the hermit, he sang psalms, according to the tradition of the Church. The Fathers of the Egyptian deserts ordained that twelve psalms were to be recited at vespers and twelve at nocturns; the services of the seven canonical hours consisted almost wholly of psalms, and a postulant for admission into one of the monasteries of the Thebaid was employed during the period of his probation in learning the psalms by heart. By the holy men of the Scots the recitation of psalms was given a foremost place in religious exercises. Of St. Patrick it is said that he would recite "the three fifties," that is the whole psalter which was thus divided, and his disciple St.

Recitation of the Psalter.

Benignus was called his "psalm-singer." So, too, St. Columba's powerful voice is said to have cowed the Druids, as night by night he and his monks would chant the evening psalms before the dwelling of the King of the Picts. Columba would recite the whole psalter during his nocturnal penances; and Aidan used to make the monks who accompanied him on his journeys employ themselves as they walked, either in reading the Scriptures or reciting psalms. Strenuous in working out his own salvation as in seeking the salvation of others, he would not, we are told, disregard a single one of the commands left by Apostle, Evangelist, or Prophet, but fulfilled them all to the utmost of his power. From time to time, however, the craving for solitude, so strong in the saints of his race, caused him to retire not only from his missionary work, but even from the monastic life of Lindisfarne, and dwell for a season as a hermit on the little island then called Farne, and now House island. There he gave himself to prayer and meditation, gathering, during these periods of retreat, fresh strength for his life of service.

Bede observes with regret that Aidan adhered to the Celtic Easter. Yet though his practice on this point was not that of the Church generally, his heart was catholic; there was nothing of the schismatic in his spirit or teaching; nor, so long as he lived, did any trouble arise among the English Christians on the matter. Archbishop Honorius and Bishop Felix both held him in honour, for they were men of like spirit; and Bede, strong as he was upon the Easter question, pours out the treasures of his loving heart in praise of him to whom his people owed so deep a debt. He points out that though Aidan held the fourteenth day of the moon as one on which Easter might fall, he was no "Quartodeciman," for he always kept the feast on the Lord's Day, both in memory of Christ's resurrection and in the hope of the resurrection of the dead, which the Catholic Church believed would be accomplished on that day. Then rising to higher things than dates, he records his approval of Aidan's doctrine, saying that "he held, revered, and preached not otherwise than we do ourselves, the redemption of mankind by the passion, resurrection, and ascension into Heaven of Jesus Christ, the mediator between God and man."

Catholicity of spirit.

Oswald was not unworthy of his bishop. When he came to the throne he was thirty years old; and, if we may trust a twelfth-century description of him purporting to have been derived from an old English book, he was a tall, strong man, with long hands and arms, and broad shoulders; his face was long and cheery of aspect, he had yellow hair, blue eyes, and a thin beard. So far as religion was concerned, his life was such as would have adorned the monastery which sheltered him in exile. In spite of his kingly dignity, the poor man and the stranger found him humble and affable as well as generous. He was much in prayer, and the gesture that he used in supplication, raising his hands with the palms uppermost, was so habitual with him that he generally sat with his hands so spread out upon his knees. Bede's remark that he would often remain in prayer from the time of matins, that is, either midnight, or at least before three in the morning, until daybreak, suggests that he was in the habit of rising for prayer and thanksgiving at the hour of matins, as the monks did. Besides giving lands for the erection of monasteries, he finished the stone minster at York begun by Eadwine and Paulinus, built other churches and enriched them, and the minster at York no doubt above all, with gifts of sacred vessels of gold and silver, with altar-cloths worked in gold and gems, with draperies and hanging lamps. Sparing in what he spent on himself, he was lavish in what he spent in the service of God and the relief of the poor. He added to the officers of his court, such as the dish-thegn or server, the bower-thegn or chamberlain, and the like, a thegn whose special charge it was to dispense his alms. One Easter Sunday, it is said, when Aidan sat with him at dinner, there was placed upon the table before him a large silver dish laden with royal meats; both the king and the bishop had stretched their hands over it, joining in asking a blessing on the food, when the king's almoner came in suddenly, and said that poor people from all the country round were sitting in the streets and asking for alms from the king. Oswald at once ordered that the food on the dish before him should be taken to them, and that the dish itself should be broken into small pieces and divided among them. Delighted at the king's charity, Aidan seized his hand and

Oswald, Kg. of the Northumbrians, 635-642.

cried, "May this hand never decay!" Bede says that in his time Oswald's hands remained incorrupt in a silver reliquary in St. Peter's Church at Bamborough, and were objects of general veneration. According to the twelfth century Life of Oswald, the faith of the new converts in Northumbria was tried by a pestilence which carried off large numbers of people. Oswald is said to have prayed, like David, that the stroke might fall on him and that his people might be delivered; he fell sick and received the Eucharist as one at the point of death. On his recovery, he said that he had seen a vision of angels, who told him of his future martyrdom and declared that the pestilence was stayed in answer to his prayer. The author of the Life says that he took the story from an old English book, and, though this does not count for much, it may have a basis of truth, and possibly refers to an earlier wave of the plague which afterwards broke with full force on every part of the land. The main features of the story seem to derive some corroboration from an alleged cure of the plague in Ireland by a relic of St. Oswald, and from the belief that his intercession was successfully invoked during an outbreak of the plague among the South Saxons.

Oswald was a powerful king and a valiant warrior as well as a deeply religious man. He is said to have exercised supremacy over the nations and provinces of the four languages then spoken in this island, by Britons, Picts, Scots, and English; he probably assumed the title of Bretwalda which is given to him at a later date, for Adamnan, Abbot of Iona, seems to refer to it when he says that Oswald was "ordained by God emperor over the whole of Britain." According to Bede, who was naturally inclined to magnify his power, he ruled as widely as Eadwine had ruled before him. His victory over Cadwallon seems to have rendered him formidable to Penda, for, probably not long afterwards, the Mercian king treacherously slew Eadwine's son Eadfrith, who had taken shelter with him, in order, it may fairly be supposed, to gain Oswald's favour by removing a possible claimant to the Northumbrian kingship. Yet, though this evil deed was, no doubt, profitable to Oswald, there is not sufficient ground for asserting that it was committed at his instigation, and we have a fair right to believe

His power.

that he was innocent of participation in a crime condemned by heathen as well as Christian morality. His innocence, however, is by no means certain. It is true that Bede does not blame Oswald for the murder, but negotiations on such a matter may well have been kept secret. Christianity does not always avail to preserve men from falling into awful sin; and it is certain that there were Christian people living in Oswald's time who would not have been surprised if they had heard that he had incited Penda to slay his guest. Æthelburh indeed thought that her little son Wuscfrea and her husband's grandson were not safe from Oswald even at her brother's court, and sent them over to Gaul to her cousin Dagobert, King of the Neustrian Franks, at whose court they died.

Though Oswald's superiority seems for a time to have been acknowledged by Penda, he soon found himself no match for the Mercian king. He conquered Lindsey, which seems to have regained its independence on Eadwine's death, but was evidently unable to save the Christian kingdom of East Anglia from heathen invasion. Sigbert had retired from his kingly duties, had received the tonsure, and entered a monastery which he had built at Betrichsworth, or as it is called now Bury St. Edmunds, leaving his kingdom to be ruled by his kinsman Egric. When Penda invaded the land, probably in 636, the East Anglians, finding that he had a stronger army than any which they could bring against him, besought their former king to lead them, for Sigbert had been a valiant warrior in his time, and his presence would give them confidence. Sigbert refused to leave his monastery, was drawn from it against his will, and taken with the army. Mindful of his monastic profession, he would not bear arms, and went to battle against Penda, holding only a wand in his hand. His army was routed, and he and Egric were both slain. He was succeeded by his kinsman Anna, a pious man, who gave lands to Fursey's monastery and supported Bishop Felix in his work of evangelisation. Another Mercian invasion, probably in or soon after 640, caused Fursey to leave East Anglia; he crossed to Gaul and founded a monastery at Lagny on the Marne. After his

Penda's invasions of East Anglia.

death his brothers Foillan and Ultan also migrated to Gaul.

About the time that Aidan began his work in Northumbria, the Gospel was brought to the West Saxons directly from Rome, without any action on the part of the Church at Canterbury. An Italian named Birinus, who is said by Winchester tradition to have been a monk of St. Andrew's monastery at Rome, the home of St. Augustine and his company, requested Pope Honorius to send him as a missionary to the English. Honorius forwarded his wish by causing him to be consecrated bishop at Genoa by Asterius, Archbishop of Milan; no diocese was assigned to him, he was to choose his sphere of work for himself. He landed in the country of the Gewissas, as the West Saxons originally called themselves, on the coast of our Hampshire, and finding the people wholly ignorant of the Gospel, stayed and worked amongst them, though he had intended to go farther north into the central parts of the island. His preaching was successful; the West Saxon king Cynegils and his witan accepted Christianity probably in 635, and Cynegils was prepared for baptism as a catechumen. Just at that time he received a visit from Oswald, whose supremacy he had acknowledged in order probably to secure an ally against Mercian aggression. The tie between the two kings was to be strengthened, for Oswald came to marry the daughter of Cynegils, who is said to have been named Cyneburga, or Cyneburh, as her own people would have called her. During his visit Cynegils was baptized by Birinus at Dorchester, on the north bank of the Thames. Oswald acted as sponsor for him, and, as the custom then was, raised him from out of the font. The baptism of Cynegils is an event of peculiar interest, for it was the admission into the Christian Church of the head of the royal house which was destined to obtain the kingship of the whole English nation, the house of Ecgbert and Alfred, from which our present gracious Queen traces her descent. The two kings gave Dorchester to Birinus that he might make it the place of his see; Oswald either ratifying the donation of Cynegils as his superior, or simply joining him in buying the place which, though important in British and Roman times, as the vast earthworks to the

Conversion of the West Saxons, 635.

south of it still bear witness, had probably been laid waste by the Saxons. In judging of the fitness of Dorchester to be the seat of the bishopric of the West Saxons, it must be remembered that at that time their territory included the present Buckinghamshire, and was bounded on the west by the land of the Hwiccas, lately conquered by the Mercians, and the forest of Selwood. The ancient church of St. Peter and St. Paul at Dorchester probably marks the spot where Cynegils received baptism, and is a successor of the church of Birinus. Many of the West Saxons followed the example of their king. Cwichelm, his son and colleague, who a short time before had sent an assassin to kill Eadwine of Northumbria, was baptized soon after the baptism of Cynegils, and died the same year, and three years later Birinus baptized, and stood godfather to, Cwichelm's son Cuthred. Birinus travelled up and down among the West Saxons, brought much people to the Lord, and built and dedicated many churches which were used as missionary stations.

Some hindrance to the bishop's work must have arisen on the death of Cynegils in 643, for he was succeeded by his son Cenwalh, or Coinwalch, who was a heathen and had married a daughter of Penda. Soon after his accession Cenwalh put away Penda's daughter and took another wife, probably the Sexburh, or Sexburga, who outlived him. This offended the Mercian king, who drove him from his kingdom. He took refuge with Anna, king of the East Anglians, and so came under strong Christian influence, for Anna had a pious family, two of his daughters, Æthelburh and Æthelthryth, or Etheldreda, of whom we shall hear again, became abbesses, a third was a recluse, and a step-daughter Saethryth also an abbess. Cenwalh was converted during his exile, and in 646 was baptized by Bishop Felix. A year later, on March 8, 647, Felix died at Dunwich after seventeen years of episcopal and missionary work. He is deservedly reckoned as a saint, and it is generally asserted that Felixstowe on the Suffolk coast was called after him. An early form of the name, Filthstowe, suggests that this belief is mistaken, though the memory of St. Felix probably caused the old name to assume its present and more pleasing form. After

Cenwalh, King of the West Saxons, 643-672.

three years of exile, Cenwalh was enabled by the help of his nephew Cuthred to return to his kingdom, and reigned as a Christian king at Winchester, where he built a minster dedicated to the Apostles Peter and Paul, which was the forerunner of the present cathedral church, though it was not until a few years later that it became a bishop's church. About two years after its dedication, St. Birinus passed to his reward on December 3, 650. No notice occurs of any communication between him and Archbishop Honorius. He was succeeded at Dorchester by a Frank named Agilbert, a form of the English name Æthelbert, who had been consecrated before he came to England, probably in Gaul and, as it would seem, without being appointed to any diocese. He had spent a long time in Ireland, studying the Scriptures at some of the famous monastic schools of the Scots, and came thence to Cenwalh and offered to preach to his people. Cenwalh finding him learned and active made him his bishop. As a Frank, he adhered to the Roman Easter which had been taught by his predecessor.

Meanwhile trouble had fallen upon Aidan and the Church in Northumbria. According to a late, though not improbable tradition, Oswald warred successfully against Penda, and is even said to have forced him to retreat into Wales. Penda made alliance with Cadwalader, the son of Cadwallon, and on August 5, 642, met Oswald in battle at Maserfelth, which may be identified with Oswestry, in Shropshire. Oswestry (Oswald's cross) must have derived its name either from a cross set up to mark the site of the battle, or perhaps from one reared by Oswald himself, as in his victorious fight at Heavenfield, to be a standard for his army. On the other side, Penda is said to have invoked the help of his gods by magical arts. The battle was fierce; the Christian army was destroyed and Oswald himself was slain. He died as he had lived with a prayer upon his lips, for as his foes closed round him, and he saw that his hour was come, he prayed for the salvation of his warriors. His last words were preserved in the narrative of the battle that the English loved to hear from the lips of their minstrels—"The Lord have mercy on their souls, said Oswald as he fell to earth." The battle was

Battle of Maserfelth, 642.

recognised as a strife between Christianity and paganism, and the minstrels sang how "the plain of Maserfelth lay white with the bones of saints." By the command of Penda Oswald's body was mutilated, and his head and arms fixed on stakes. A year later they were carried off by the Northumbrians; Aidan buried the head in the cemetery at Lindisfarne, and placed the arms and hands which he had blessed, in the church of Bamborough. When, in the ninth century, the monks of Lindisfarne were forced to leave their island home, they laid the head of St. Oswald in the coffin of their patron St. Cuthbert, and so at last it came to Durham, and there it was seen in 1104 resting in Cuthbert's arms, and was seen once again when Cuthbert's tomb was opened in the present century. The holiness of Oswald's life, his zeal for the Gospel, and his death in battle with the champion of heathenism, caused him to be reverenced as a saint and a martyr. Some thirty years after his death his niece, Osthryth, Queen of the Mercians, removed his bones from Maserfelth to Bardney, in Lindsey, where her husband Æthelred had built a monastery. The Lindsey monks were unwilling to receive the bones of a king who had subjected their people to the Northumbrian yoke, and the waggon which bore the relics remained all night outside their gate. All through the night, we are told, there shone above the waggon a column of light which was seen in every part of Lindsey. In the morning, the monks, convinced of their error, reverently received the bones, and placed them in a tomb in their church, over which they hung Oswald's banner of purple wrought with gold. The water used in washing the relics was believed to have imparted miraculous virtue to the pavement on which it fell, and the dust of the stones was used to heal the sick and cast out evil spirits. A scholar in an Irish monastery was cured, when at the point of death, by water impregnated by a splinter of the stake on which Oswald's head had been fixed, and an English missionary to Frisia proved the efficacy of certain relics of the royal saint which he had taken with him. The cult of St. Oswald was widespread, and has been traced from Northern Italy to the Scandinavian lands.

Oswald's son Æthelwald, or Oidilwald, was a youth at the

time of his father's death, and the Bernicians chose their late king's brother Oswiu, or Oswy, as their king. Oswiu was about thirty when he came to the throne. He had, like Oswald, received baptism while in exile among the Scots, was firm in the faith, and proved an energetic and able king. At first it seemed doubtful whether he would succeed in establishing himself on the throne, for Penda wasted the land far and wide, and even laid siege to Bamborough. Failing to take the fortress on the rock, he tried to burn it. He collected a vast quantity of beams, wall-planks, and thatch from the houses in the neighbouring villages, piled them on the landward side of the fortress, and set the mass on fire. Aidan, who was then in retreat on Farne island, saw the flames and the dense cloud of smoke rolling over the lofty fortress, and, raising his hands to heaven, cried out with tears, "Behold, Lord, what evils Penda doeth." As he prayed, the wind shifted and blew from the sea, so that the flames were turned against those who kindled them. Penda raised the siege, and led his army homewards. Though Oswiu was delivered from the Mercians he had a rival in Northumbria. The tradition that he was not born of Eadwine's sister Acha may safely be disregarded as a mere guess in order to account for the fact that Deira chose another king. The jealousy between the two Northumbrian provinces needs no such explanation; it was of old standing, and constantly showed itself in a tendency to disruption. Deira, the richer and more civilised of the two, chose Eadwine's kinsman Oswine as its king. In the hope, as we may suppose, of gaining a party in Deira by an alliance with the house of Eadwine, Oswiu proposed to marry his own cousin Eanflæd, the daughter of Eadwine and Æthelburh, who had been baptized by Paulinus before her father's conversion. He sent a priest named Utta to fetch her from Kent by sea, for it would not have been safe for her to pass through Penda's dominions. Before he started, Utta asked Aidan to pray for the success of his mission. Aidan blessed him, and gave him some hallowed oil, telling him that he would meet with a storm, and bidding him pour the oil on the waters and they would become calm. This, as Bede learnt from good authority, actually took place,

Oswiu, King of the Northumbrians, 642-671.

and the storm, which might perhaps have easily been foreseen, and the effect of the oil, were held to be proofs of the bishop's prophetic and miraculous powers. Eanflæd arrived safely at Oswiu's court, was married to him, and as queen proved not unworthy of her mother Æthelburh and her grandmother Bertha. She brought with her as her chaplain a priest named Romanus, who of course adhered to the catholic date of Easter and the other Roman usages.

Oswine was much beloved in Deira; he was tall, handsome, courteous, cheery of speech, and liberal to all men, gentle and simple alike. His liberality enlisted in his train volunteers from other kingdoms, and was perhaps rather a proof of weakness and good nature than of the piety which he undoubtedly showed in other ways, and specially by his humility. He was completely under the influence of Aidan, who does not seem to have had much personal intercourse with Oswiu, and was perhaps during the last years of his life more constantly with Oswine than in Bernicia. A signal example of Oswine's humility is preserved by Bede. Grieved that Aidan went on foot on his missionary excursions, he gave him a valuable horse which he rode himself. Soon afterwards, as the bishop rode along on the king's horse, he met a beggar, and, moved with compassion, dismounted and gave him the horse with all its royal trappings. When Oswine heard of it he was displeased, and reproached Aidan for giving away the horse that he had wished him to use himself. Aidan replied, "King, what are you saying? Is that son of a mare dearer to you than the Son of God?" The answer, arrogant as it seems, would be more offensive if, as may be conjectured, it contained a reference to the superstitions of the heathen English with reference to the horse, for it would then imply that the king's remonstrance was dictated by heathenish feeling. Oswine had returned from hunting, and without more words he and Aidan went in to dinner. Aidan sat down in his accustomed place, and the king stood warming himself by the fire. Suddenly Oswine bethought him of the bishop's words, he ungirt his sword, gave it to one of his thegns, and falling at Aidan's feet besought his pardon, declaring that he would never again object to any alms that the bishop might give to the children of God from his royal treasure.

Oswine, King in Deira.

Aidan raised him up, and assured him of his forgiveness; so the king was comforted and sat down joyfully to dinner. Nevertheless Aidan was sad and his eyes were filled with tears. His companion, an Irish priest, asked him in their own tongue, which Oswine and his attendants did not understand, why he was sad, and the bishop answered that it was because he was sure that the king would not live long, for he had never seen a humble king. The story illustrates the extravagant and emotional temperament not uncommon among the saints of the Celtic race, and the imperious manner in which the bishops of the Scots' nation were in the habit of dealing with their disciples even of the highest rank.

Aidan's words were soon fulfilled. Oswiu was determined to unite the two Northumbrian kingdoms under his own rule, and gave Oswine no peace. The Deiran king found himself outnumbered, dismissed his army near Catterick, and with one faithful thegn sought shelter with one of his nobles named Hunwald, whom he believed to be his friend. Hunwald betrayed him to Oswiu, who sent an officer and caused him and his faithful attendant to be put to death at Gilling, near Richmond, on August 20, 651. Oswine's body was carried into Bernicia and buried at Tynemouth, where there was a chapel dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and where before long a monastery was built. Oswiu repented of his crime, and at the request of his wife Eanflæd, Oswine's kinswoman, gave land at Gilling to an English priest named Trumhere, a relative of the murdered king, who had been ordained by the Scots, and bade him build a monastery on it, that prayers might be said continually for himself and for the soul of him whom he had slain. Oswine was reckoned as a saint, and his body was translated, or moved to an honourable place in the church, on the eve of the Norman Conquest. Eleven days after the murder of the king whom he had loved, Aidan was called away. He was suddenly seized with sickness while at Bamborough, and, as it seems, could not be moved into the bedchamber which he had there, so they laid him on the ground outside the little wooden church, and sheltered him with an awning fixed to the wooden buttress at the west-end, and there he died on August 31. Catholic in spirit though not in all matters of practice, St. Aidan is

Death of St. Aidan, 651.

reverenced by the Roman Church as a canonised bishop. Carrying on the work begun by Paulinus, he was the main agent in the conversion of the Northumbrians. In Bernicia he and his companions had almost everything to do, and cannot be said to have found more than a ground to some extent prepared for their labour; in Deira they had a good foundation on which to build, for there Christianity had taken a firmer hold during the reign of Eadwine. The results of Aidan's work, however, must not be measured by what he accomplished in his lifetime. During the thirteen years which followed his death, the mission that he founded spread over a large part of the country south of the Humber, and was successful in the conversion of the Midlands. On the night of his death an English shepherd boy, keeping watch over his flock in the Lammermuir country while his companions slept, saw a vision of angels bearing a soul to heaven, and a few days later knew that it was at that hour that St. Aidan died. The shepherd boy was Cuthbert, who afterwards carried on Aidan's work in Bernicia, and sat in his seat at Lindisfarne.

During these years the Church, both in Kent and East Anglia, was prospering quietly under Archbishop Honorius. Eadbald died in 640, and was succeeded by his son Earconbert, who married Sexburh, one of the holy daughters of Anna of East Anglia. First of all English kings, he compelled his people to destroy their idols and to keep the Lenten fast, enforcing his commands by penalties set forth in laws. That idolatry should have lingered on in Kent so long after it had become a Christian country, may be taken as a proof that the line of conduct recommended by Gregory with reference to heathenism was not without danger. Many nominal Christians must have looked on the religion of Christ rather as an addition to the old beliefs of their race than as wholly incompatible with them. Some, perhaps, like Rædwald, worshipped their idols openly; others, and probably the larger number, in secret, and only in connection with the magical arts which had so strong a hold on the English people. Earconbert's reformation was, as may be gathered from the mention of legal penalties, a national, and not a mere personal act, and marks a decided advance in religion. Evidences, too, are not wanting that the efforts

A native clergy in the South.

made at Canterbury and at Dunwich, to train up a native clergy were bringing forth good results. The first bishop of English race, a Kentishman named Ithamar, a name probably assumed at the time, was consecrated by Honorius to the see of Rochester in 644, and was, we are told, not inferior to his predecessors either in holiness of life or learning. Again, in 647, Honorius consecrated Thomas, one of a tribe settled about the marshes of Ely, who had been the deacon of Felix, to succeed his former master as Bishop of the East Anglians, and on the death of Thomas in 652, consecrated another Englishman, named Berctgils, a native of Kent, who took the name of Boniface, to succeed him at Dunwich. This speaks of good work. On the other hand, the national character stamped on the Church at the consecration of Augustine, was apparently farther away than ever from becoming a reality; for the authority of Honorius seems to have been confined to Kent and East Anglia. Honorius died on September 30, 653, and for some reason that we do not know, the see of Canterbury remained vacant for eighteen months, until, on March 26, 655, the first English archbishop, a West Saxon, named, according to Canterbury tradition, Frithonas, was consecrated by Ithamar, and took the name of Deusdedit. Ithamar was his only consecrator, though he might have summoned Boniface of East Anglia and Agilbert of Wessex to assist him, for there was nothing to be said against the orders of either of them.

AUTHORITIES.—Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, u.s., still continues our main source, with the help of the notes in Mr. Plummer's edition, and of Canon Bright's *Early English Church History*. The so-called *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, to be consulted in *Two Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, ed. Plummer, Oxford, 1892, or with translation in the Rolls series, and Florence of Worcester's *Chronicon*, London, 1848, Engl. Hist. Soc., afford some help, and Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia*, of early 12th cent., Rolls series, preserves some traditions and scraps of songs. A *Life of St. Oswald*, of the 12th cent., printed with the Works of Symeon of Durham, in the Rolls series, may contain some genuine traditions, but the Life of Oswine, also of the 12th cent., in *Miscellanea Biographica*, Durham, 1838, Surtees Soc., is of little value for the 7th cent.

CHAPTER VI

THE WHITBY CONFERENCE

On St. Aidan's death the abbot and monks of Iona chose one of their bishops named Finan to succeed him, and sent him to Lindisfarne. There, Finan built a church which is described as worthy of the episcopal see; it was made of sawn timber, and was covered all over with a thatch of reeds. About forty years later one of Finan's English successors in the bishopric covered the roof and walls with sheets of lead. Finan's episcopate is marked by the beginning of a dispute between the Roman and Irish parties in Northumbria. About 634 the Southern Irish were persuaded, chiefly by Cummian one of the most learned of the Scots, to adopt the Roman Easter, but the Irish of the North still held to their own customs, mainly owing to the influence of Iona and its dependencies in Ireland. Cummian had been brought up in one of Columba's monasteries, and the monks of Iona were displeased at his advocacy of the Roman usages; he defended himself in a letter addressed to Abbot Seghine, in which he argued with great learning against the Celtic computation. Finan, then, had lived in an atmosphere of controversy before he left Iona. He found himself in a like atmosphere in Northumbria. There, one of his own people, a Scot named Ronan, who had been educated in Gaul and Italy, was a keen champion of the Roman Easter, and persuaded many to adopt it. He had some sharp disputes with Finan, and as he had a bitter temper, he exasperated the bishop and caused him to cling to the Celtic usages with special tenacity. In Deira, the deacon James was spreading the observance of

The Easter controversy, 651-661.

the Roman Easter, and at the Bernician court Finan was confronted with a more dangerous opponent than either James or Ronan, for Oswiu's queen, Eanflæd, was on the Roman side, and was upheld by her chaplain Romanus, who ministered to her and her attendants, while the king adhered to the teaching of the Scots. Aidan's sweetness of temper and catholicity of spirit had disarmed opposition. Finan, however, was a man of another mould; he had much to try him, and became embittered by opposition, so that things did not go smoothly in the Church in Northumbria, though the dispute did not come to a head until after Finan's death, which took place in 661.

Nevertheless, the Church did good work under Finan, for Oswiu, though he had sinned in putting Oswine to death, was zealous for the spread of the Gospel, and it was owing to him that, soon after Aidan had died, Christianity was preached to the people of the Midlands and to the East Saxons. Some of the principal agents in this work were Englishmen who had been ordained by bishops of the Scots, others were Scots by race. The education of a native clergy which had been carried on successfully in the South, had been undertaken in the North by the Scots with at least equally good results. Aidan's school at Lindisfarne was sending out men of like character to their master, who were ready to preach Christ among the heathen south of the Humber. They and many more—Scots, Englishmen, and even Franks like Agilbert—derived their learning and spiritual life either directly or indirectly from Ireland, the "island of the saints," where the great monastic schools, such as Clonard, Lismore, and Bangor, hospitably received all who came to them for instruction. As in Kent and Northumbria, so in the Midlands a door was opened for the preaching of the Gospel by a royal marriage. Penda's son Peada, the king under his father of the Middle Anglians, a people settled in the present Leicestershire, came to Oswiu's court in 653 desiring to marry his daughter Alchflæd, who had been born before Oswiu's marriage with Eanflæd. The two houses were already allied, for Alchflæd's brother Alchfrith had married Penda's daughter Cyneburh. Oswiu, however, said that he would not give him

Evangelisation of the Middle Anglians, 653.

his daughter unless he and his people became believers in Christ and received baptism. Peada then listened to the Gospel and became convinced of its truth, being persuaded of it to no small degree by his brother-in-law Alchfrith. His mind was so firmly made up that he declared that he would become a Christian, whether Oswiu gave him his daughter or no. Accordingly, he and all his train were baptized by Bishop Finan at one of Oswiu's residences called "At the Wall," near the Roman wall, and twelve miles from "the eastern sea," which some have sought to identify with the village of Wall-bottle on the Tyne. He then married Alchflæd, and returned with joy to his own country. With him went four priests whom Oswiu sent to preach to his people. Three of them, Cedd, Adda, and Betti, were Northumbrians, the fourth, Diuma, a Scot. Cedd, of whom we shall hear much, had been one of Aidan's scholars at Lindisfarne. He had three brothers, all priests, of whom the most famous, named Ceadda, or St. Chad, had in his younger days studied in Ireland. Whether Cedd also went thither is uncertain; he certainly spoke Erse well, but he may have learnt the language from his Irish teachers at Lindisfarne. Adda was the brother of Utta, the priest sent by Oswiu to fetch Eanflæd from Kent, who had become abbot of a monastery at Gateshead. These missionaries, who were all learned men, preached with great success to the Anglians, and every day baptized fresh converts, both gentle and simple. They also preached in Mercia, for Penda did not object to their making converts there, saying that the men whom he hated and despised were professors of Christianity who did not act in accordance with their faith and disobeyed their God; his heathenism was probably at least as much a matter of policy as of religious conviction.

Reconversion of the East Saxons, 654.

The East Saxons, who had remained heathen since the expulsion of Mellitus, also owed their conversion to Oswiu's zeal. Their king, Sigbert, was his friend and often visited him, and during his visits Oswiu used to talk to him about religion, pointing out how foolish it was to worship idols made of wood or stone, the residue of which could be burned or made into drinking-cups or trodden under foot, instead of the invisible God, the Creator of all things. Sigbert was deeply impressed by his

words, and on a visit that he paid to him in the same year as Peada's baptism, accepted Christianity, and having obtained the assent of the thegns who accompanied him, was baptized along with them by Finan "At the Wall." When he was setting out to return to his kingdom he asked Oswiu to send him some learned men to teach and baptize his people. Oswiu accordingly sent to Cedd and bade him and another priest go and preach to the East Saxons. So Cedd left the Middle Anglians, and he and his companion went up and down among the East Saxons and gathered many into the Lord's Church. After a while Cedd went to Lindisfarne to tell Finan of his success, and Finan on hearing of it considered that the work demanded a bishop. He therefore sent for two other bishops, doubtless Scots like himself, and in conjunction with them consecrated Cedd to be bishop of the East Saxons. This, then, is a conclusive proof, if proof be needed, that the Church of the Scots, in spite of their peculiar arrangements with respect to bishops, was an episcopal Church; and it is noteworthy that though Finan's fellow-bishops did not always procure the assistance of other bishops at consecrations, he evidently thought it necessary.

Accordingly, Cedd went back to his work among the East Saxons with the authority conferred by episcopal orders, and was consequently enabled to dedicate the churches that he built in several places, and to ordain many priests and deacons. These ordinations, perhaps, mark a step towards the establishment of a settled ministry, which may already have been taken in Wessex. Though parochial organisation does not appear as yet, it would seem that these churches built by Cedd were not mere missionary stations, and were served by their own clergy. Cedd did not make London the seat of his bishopric; he evidently did not receive any grant from the East Saxon king which would have enabled him to do so, and he should not therefore be reckoned as a Bishop of London. He was bishop of the East Saxon people, and, as was frequently the case with the bishops of the Scots, had no official see. While in the East Saxon kingdom, he lived with his monks in two monasteries which he made missionary centres. Of these monasteries one was at Ythanceaster, identified with the Roman military station

Othona, which has disappeared in the sea, the other at Tilbury. Often, however, he left his East Saxon flock and went to preach in Deira, where, after Oswine's death, Æthelwald the son of Oswald became king, either by the appointment of, and in subordination to, his uncle Oswiu, or, as seems far more probable, owing to the support of Penda, who would thus hinder the consolidation of Northumbria. Æthelwald greatly admired Cedd's holiness, and had one of his brothers named Cælin as his chaplain. He sent Cælin to Cedd to request that he would accept a grant of land in Deira and build a monastery on it, that the king might go there and pray, and be laid there when he died. Cedd chose the future Lastingham in the North Riding, then a wild spot among the caves of robbers and the lairs of wild beasts, and began according to the custom of the Scots to purify the place by spending a Lent there in prayer and fasting, eating nothing on any day save Sunday until the evening, and then only a little bread, one egg, and some milk. These foundation fasts of the Scots were connected with an idea, which had a strong hold on the minds of the early hermits in Egypt and elsewhere, that wild and desolate places were the special haunts of evil spirits that were to be overcome by prayer and fasting. When ten days of Cedd's fast had yet to be passed Æthelwald sent for him, and his brother Cynibill finished the purification for him. A monastery was then built, over which Cedd presided as abbot, and so he divided his time between his monastery at Lastingham and his bishopric.

Sigbert, the East Saxon king, met with an untimely death. In spite of Cedd's remonstrances one of his nobles made an unlawful marriage, and refused to put away the woman he had taken as his wife. The bishop, finding him obstinate, excommunicated him and forbade all men to enter his house or eat with him. This sentence is the first recorded instance of the exercise in England of the disciplinary power of excommunication, or anathema as the greater excommunication, pronounced by Cedd, was called in distinction to the lesser excommunication, or prohibition from participation in the Holy Communion. It was not used against any save obstinate offenders, and was

Death of Sigbert, King of the East Saxons, *cir.* 655?

a purely spiritual punishment, though the Church sometimes sought the help of the secular power to enforce its decrees. It was held to be incumbent on Christian magistrates to inflict such punishment on obstinate offenders against the decrees of the Church, as might cause them to seek reconciliation and restoration. At the same time the assistance of the secular arm was not to go so far as the taking of life or shedding of blood, for St. Augustine plainly declared that it was displeasing to all good members of the Catholic Church that any, even a heretic, should be put to death, and St. Martin of Tours constantly refused to communicate with certain who had prevailed on the Emperor Maximus to put to death Priscillian and his associates.

Sigbert disregarded the bishop's sentence, and went to a feast at the offender's house. As he was coming away Cedd met him, and Sigbert was afraid when he saw the bishop; he leapt from his horse, knelt before him and craved his forgiveness. Cedd was wroth at his disobedience; and, having dismounted from his horse, struck him lightly with the wand that he was carrying, declaring that he should die in the very house which he had disobediently entered. Soon afterwards the excommunicated noble and his brother slew the king. When the murderers were asked why they had done that evil deed, they answered that their only reason was that they were disgusted with the king because he forgave his enemies and bore injuries patiently. Englishman as he was, Cedd seems to have imbibed the spirit of his Celtic teachers. The churchmen of the Scots were apt to exercise the power that they assumed over their converts in a somewhat arrogant spirit. Even Aidan showed something of this spirit in his reproof of Oswine; it was more conspicuous in the formal blow that Cedd gave to Sigbert, while his words of prophecy, or malediction, breathe the haughty temper displayed by Columban when he declared that none of the sons of the concubines of Theodoric II. should bear the sceptre. The murderers of Sigbert doubtless resented the humility with which he received the episcopal correction in a matter touching themselves, though their complaint against him went farther than that. Nominally Christians, they had not yet learnt the hardest lesson inculcated by their new

religion, and Sigbert's forbearance seemed to them so flagrant a breach of duty as to excuse their faithlessness towards their lord. Sigbert was called the Good, either on account of his conversion, or the circumstances of his murder. His death did not hinder the progress of Christianity among the East Saxons, for he was succeeded by his kinsman Swithelm, who had been baptized by Cedd at Rendlesham, in Suffolk.

Penda made another invasion of East Anglia in 654, defeated and slew the pious king Anna, and set up in his stead his brother Æthelhere, who reigned, more or less, as Penda's vassal. This Æthelhere in some way caused a war between Penda and Oswiu. Penda again made an alliance with the Welsh, pressed Oswiu hard, and forced him to retreat into the extreme north of his kingdom to a town called by Nennius, Iudeu, possibly on the Firth of Forth, made him pay him a large tribute, and deliver his young son Ecgfrith as a hostage. Nevertheless the faithless old heathen continued the war. In despair Oswiu tried to purchase peace by offering him a vast amount of treasure, but Penda refused his offer, for he had determined utterly to destroy the Northumbrians. Then said Oswiu, "If the heathen will not accept our gifts, let us offer them to Him who will accept them, even to the Lord our God"; and he vowed that if God would give him the victory he would dedicate to Him his daughter Ælflæd, who had been born the year before, together with lands for the erection of twelve monasteries. At the head of a small army, he met the enemy on November 15, 655, by a river called the Winwæd, probably in Bernicia, though it has not been identified. Penda divided his forces into thirty legions, each under its own chief, for there marched with him many princes of the Welsh, of other Kymric peoples, and of the Picts. The Christian Æthelhere, too, was there as a vassal of the heathen king, and Æthelwald of Deira, who came hoping, no doubt, to gain his uncle's kingdom, even though he would have had to reign in dependence on Mercia, but, doubly base, he withdrew his force when the fight began, and watched the event from a secure position. The Mercian host was defeated, the thirty chiefs were nearly all slain, and Æthelhere among them, and the Winwæd, swollen with rain, swept

Battle of the Winwæd, 655.

away the fugitives, so that it was said that more perished in its waters than were slain by the victorious army. Penda himself fell, and in after-days the minstrels sang how "Winwæd avenged the death of Anna, the deaths of the kings Sigbert and Egric, the deaths of the kings Oswald and Eadwine." The battle decided the victory of Christianity in England; the last and most powerful champion of heathenism had fallen by the sword of the Lord and of Oswiu.

The vow that Oswiu made before the battle was amply performed; he gave twelve estates, each large enough for the support of ten families, that is, each of ten hides,[1] for the foundation of twelve monasteries, six in Deira and six in Bernicia. His little daughter, Ælflæd, he sent to be brought up as a nun at Hereteu, or the Hart's island, the present Hartlepool, where a monastery had been built by Heiu, the first Northumbrian nun, who had received the veil from Aidan. There Ælflæd was under the care of Hild, or Hilda, the great-niece of Eadwine. Among the many English ladies who entered the monastic, or "religious," life, and strengthened the Church by their holiness and wisdom, Hilda deserves a foremost place. She was born about 614, and was baptized along with her great-uncle on Easter Eve, 627. About twenty years later she determined to enter the religious life, and thought of joining her sister Hereswith, who was a nun at Chelles, near Paris. Aidan, however, sent her to a little monastery on the north bank of the Wear, and a few years later called her to succeed Heiu as abbess at Hartlepool, which was a double monastery containing monks as well as nuns. There she ruled her house according to all that she could learn from the teaching of those best versed in monastic discipline, and Aidan and all the "religious" who knew her used to visit her and help her, for they much admired her wisdom and her zeal for the monastic life. About 657 she founded a monastery on one of the estates dedicated to God by Oswiu two years before, called Streaneshalch, or Whitby, the forerunner of the house of which the church, as a noble ruin, still looks seawards

The abbess Hilda.

[1] For the hide as a measure of areal extent in Bede, see Professor Maitland's *Domesday Book and Beyond*, Essay iii., Cambridge, 1897.

from its lofty eminence. With her went the little Ælflæd, who was to pass the rest of her life there, and to succeed to Hilda's chair as abbess. At Whitby, as we may call the house, though that name was not given it until the Danish invasions, Hilda ruled over another community of both sexes. Eminent for piety and grace, she was called Mother by all who knew her; she trained the inmates of her house in all Christian virtues, and specially in love. Men of all ranks, kings and nobles as well as humble folk came to her for advice; many of the monks under her rule were ordained to the priesthood, and five of them became bishops. We shall meet with this noble lady more than once hereafter.

Oswiu's victory gave him great power. Like Eadwine and Oswald, he probably assumed the title of Bretwalda, which is given to him in the Chronicle; for he ruled over a large part of the Pictish nation and over the Kymri, or Cumbrians, both on the north and south of the Solway. He made his son Alchfrith, who had fought by his side at Winwædfield, under-king of Deira, in place of Æthelwald. All the Mercian lands were his by conquest, and for a time he ruled the greater part of them himself, though he allowed his son-in-law, Peada, to remain under-king of the Middle Anglians or Southern Mercians. Lindsey passed to him along with Mercia, and he seems to have been supreme over the East Anglians and East Saxons. During the Easter feast next after the battle in which Penda had fallen, Peada was assassinated with the connivance, as was generally believed, of his wife Alchflæd, the daughter of Oswiu, though not the daughter of the pious Eanflæd, and for three years after his death the whole of the Mercian lands were under Oswiu's immediate rule. In 658, however, the Mercians rebelled against him, and chose as their king, Wulfhere, a younger brother of Peada, whom the nobles had kept in hiding. They made good their revolt, and, as Bede, though himself a Northumbrian, says in words which attest the generosity of his soul, "free and with a king of their own, the Mercians joyfully served Christ, the true King."

Supremacy of Oswiu.

The Church indeed prospered greatly among the Mercians during the seventeen years of Wulfhere's reign. He had been

baptized before his accession, and as Peada had only been king of a part of the Mercians, Wulfhere is reckoned as the first Christian king of that people. During his reign the Mercians were evangelised. Some work had, as we have seen, been done among them even during the reign of Penda, by the missionaries who were sent by Oswiu to preach to the Middle Anglians. One of them, Diuma the Scot, was consecrated by Finan after the overthrow of Penda, as bishop of the Middle Anglians and Mercians, probably in 656. On his death, perhaps two years later, he was succeeded by another Scot named Ceollach, who soon left Mercia, probably in consequence of the revolt of the Mercians, and returned to his monastery at Iona. In his place Wulfhere obtained a bishop from Oswiu's kingdom, an Englishman named Trumhere, the abbot of the king's monastery at Gilling, who received consecration from Finan at Lindisfarne. He was succeeded about 662 by Jaruman, who was also consecrated by Irish bishops. It was, then, from bishops of the Scots' mission that Central England received evangelisation.

Evangelisation of the Mercians, 656.

Wulfhere used his political power for the spread of the Gospel. His neighbour, Cenwalh of Wessex, had extended his kingdom westwards at the expense of the Britons, and Wulfhere, jealous of this increase in his strength, made war upon him, and took from him the Isle of Wight and the Meon district in Hampshire. He gave these conquests to Æthelwalh, king of the South Saxons, who acknowledged his supremacy, and was persuaded by him to receive baptism in Mercia, Wulfhere himself standing godfather to him. Æthelwalh's queen, Æbbe, a princess of the Hwiccas, who were then subject to the Mercians, had already been baptized in her own land. He was not perhaps very warm about his new religion, for the South Saxons did not follow his example, and remained for a while the only heathen people in England. About this time Sexulf, who is said to have been a rich thegn of the fen-land, then under Wulfhere's rule, founded the monastery of Medeshamstead, or Peterborough as it came to be called from its dedication, and became its first abbot. The foundation is said to have been planned by Peada, and was doubtless forwarded by Wulfhere, but the part in it

ascribed to them and to some other great persons is quite unhistorical.

Meanwhile the Roman party in Northumbria was gathering strength, and a series of events was beginning which led to its victory and to the termination of the Scots' mission. Alchfrith, the under-king of Deira, zealous as beforetime for God's service,[1] gave land for a monastery at Ripon and sent to Eata, abbot of Melrose, to come and found the house. Eata was one of the Northumbrian lads whom Aidan had educated at Lindisfarne, and, before his old master's death, had become abbot of Mailros, or Old Melrose, situated on a kind of promontory formed by the windings of the Tweed, and deeply embosomed by trees. He was worthy of his master, for Bede describes him as "the gentlest and simplest of men." At Alchfrith's invitation he left his house in charge of Boisil, the prior, a man of learning and great spirituality of mind, and went to Ripon, taking with him, among others of his monks, one who was destined to become the most famous saint of the North. This was Cuthbert, a native of the part of Bernicia north of the Tweed. He was born probably of poor parents, and was even in boyhood full of holy thoughts. When a little lad he had a swelling on his knee, which made him unable to walk, and was cured by following the advice of a stranger whom he believed to have been an angel. From that time he thought that he was specially under angelic protection, and was frequent in prayer. When still a boy, he saw some monks of Tiningham, who were on a raft, in danger of being carried out to sea. The country-people on the river-bank declared that they would be rightly served, and jeered at the strange life which the monks led, but Cuthbert reproved them and offered up prayer for the monks. The course of the raft was stayed, and the people were brought to repent of their evil words. The turning-point of his life was his vision of angels bearing St. Aidan's soul to heaven, which he saw while keeping sheep upon the Lammermuir hills. He at once rode to Melrose to seek admission as a monk. On his arrival, he gave his horse and spear to an attendant to hold, and went into the church to pray. Eata was away, and he was received by

Cuthbert's early years.

[1] See p. 97.

Boisil, who, on beholding him, spoke of the handsome youth in the words which the Lord had spoken of Nathaniel. On Eata's return Cuthbert received the tonsure, of course of the Scottish shape, and became conspicuous by his diligence in reading, manual labour, watching, and prayer; he drank no strong drink, but could not for a while endure long fasts, for he was stalwart in frame and full of vigour. At Ripon Eata made him hostillar, the officer whose duty was to have charge of the guests, and while there he believed that angels fed him during the severe fasts to which he gradually accustomed himself. Yet, in spite of these marks of divine favour, he remained humble, and though he was eagerly practising asceticism, was pleasant in manner and even merry. In common with Eata and the rest of the community, he was forced to leave Ripon in 661.

Wilfrith at Rome, 654.

The removal of Eata and his monks from Ripon was caused by their refusal to adopt the Roman Easter at the bidding of Alchfrith, who was turned against the usages of the Scots, first by his friend Cenwalh of Wessex, and then more effectually by Wilfrith or Wilfrid. This famous churchman was then young, for he was born in 634, "the hateful year" in Northumbrian history. He was the son of a Northumbrian noble, and as a boy was handsome, clever, and obedient, fond of arms, horses, and fine clothes, with frank and courteous manners which won the hearts of all his father's guests, nobles and their attendants alike. Yet the poor boy's life was not happy, for he had an unkind stepmother, and when he was nearly fourteen he wished to enter a monastery. His father sent him to Oswiu's court, where he greatly pleased Queen Eanflæd; and as one of the king's thegns, who had become old and paralytic, wished to end his days as a monk, she sent Wilfrith with him to Lindisfarne as his attendant. There he was loved by all, and, though he did not receive the tonsure, eagerly discharged all the duties of a novice, learning the whole psalter by heart in the Gallican version, made by St. Jerome at Bethlehem about 388, and used by the Scots. He also studied other books. He probably saw his royal mistress often, for it must have been owing to her influence that, though living in a Columbite monastery, he desired to make

a pilgrimage to Rome. The road to Rome was soon to be trodden by many English feet, but at that time Englishmen had not begun the custom of pilgrimage thither, and Eanflæd sent him to her cousin, Earconbert, King of Kent, to wait until a trustworthy companion could be found for him. At Earconbert's court he continued his ascetic life, and learnt the whole of the Roman psalter, that is the earlier version revised by St. Jerome while he was still at Rome in 383, which was used at Canterbury. After spending a year in Kent, Wilfrith in 653 found a fellow-traveller, a young noble of royal descent, named Biscop Baducing, known later as Benedict Biscop, one of Oswiu's thegns, who at the age of twenty-five was resolved to enter the monastic life, and was setting out for Rome. Together they went down the Saone to Lyons, where they were entertained by Annemund the archbishop, and his brother Dalfinus,[1] the count of the city. At Lyons they parted, Biscop going on to Rome, while Wilfrith stayed with Annemund, who delighted in his society, and offered, if he would remain with him, to adopt him as his son and give him his niece in marriage. Wilfrith, however, would not give up the life that he had chosen for himself, and after a while went on to Rome. There he fell in with the pope's archdeacon, Boniface, who was pleased with the handsome and devout young Englishman, instructed him in the Easter question, and the monastic life according to the rule of St. Benedict, and introduced him to Pope Eugenius I., who gave him his blessing.

[1] Both Eddi and Bede confuse the count with the archbishop. They further say that the archbishop, whom they call Dalfinus, was slain in a persecution of the clergy set on foot by Queen Bathild or Baldhild. This seems impossible, for Bathild was an excellent lady. She was of English birth, and had been sold as a slave in Gaul. Bright and beautiful as well as good, she became the wife of her lord Erchinoald, the Frankish mayor of the palace, and, at his death, of Clovis II., King of Neustria and Burgundy, who died in 656. She favoured monks and bishops, was a great benefactor to the monasteries of Chelles and Faremoutier, and was constant in prayer and almsgiving. Mindful of her former condition, she forbade traffic in slaves, would not allow any to convey slaves through the kingdom, redeemed many of her own nation of both sexes, and would call English slave girls her sisters. St. Bathild died in the monastery of Chelles in 680. Ebroin became mayor of the palace in 658, the year of Annemund's murder. See *Acta SS. O.S.B.*, Mabillon, sæc. ii. 776, 783; *Annales Benedict*, i. 425, 443; *Recueil des Hist.* iii. 710.

Wilfrith returned to Lyons to the archbishop, received the tonsure from him, and stayed with him about three years. At the end of that time the party of Ebroin, the mayor of the palace of the young Clothair III., King of Neustria and Burgundy, a bitter enemy of the clergy, put Dalfinus to death after a trial, and beheaded the archbishop at Châlon-sur-Saône on September 29, 658. Wilfrith was with Annemund at his death, and nearly shared his fate, but when it was found that he was an Englishman, a fellow-countryman of Queen Bathild, he was set free. On his return to Northumbria, Alchfrith, who was already converted to the Roman side by Cenwalh of Wessex, sent for him and eagerly accepted his teaching concerning the customs and discipline observed at Rome. The king became warmly attached to him, and gave him the monastery at "Stanford," possibly Stamford in Lincolnshire. He was not long there, for Alchfrith, with the zeal of a new convert, tried to persuade Eata and the monks whom he had placed in his monastery at Ripon to imitate his example by joining the Roman party, and when they refused to give up their own customs, expelled them from their house, probably in or about 661, and gave it to Wilfrith. Accordingly, Eata, Cuthbert, and the rest of their company returned to their old home at Melrose, and Wilfrith became abbot of Ripon. About the same time Bishop Agilbert, who was visiting Deira, ordained Wilfrith to the priesthood at Alchfrith's request. As abbot of Ripon, Wilfrith gained great influence over people of all classes, both by his charity to the poor and the wisdom of his teaching.

His return.

Following the lead of Alchfrith and the teaching of Wilfrith and James the deacon, many of the churchmen of Deira joined the Roman party. This was natural enough, for Deira was in a special sense the land of Eadwine and Paulinus. Roman traditions were probably strong there; it was richer and more civilised than Bernicia, and consequently monks from Lindisfarne and Melrose would have some prejudices to contend against, and it was for political reasons inclined to take a contrary line to the northern division of the Northumbrian kingdom. Even in Bernicia the Roman party was, as we have seen, gaining

The Easter controversy, 661-664.

strength. On the death of Finan in 661, Colman was sent from Iona to succeed him as bishop at Lindisfarne. Oswiu esteemed him highly and still upheld the Celtic usages, but Eanflæd was eager on the other side, so that the king's house was divided against itself. Feelings grew bitter, and a settlement of the questions between the two parties was urgently needed for spiritual reasons, for so great had become the importance attached to them, that some began to fear lest, as Bede says, they "had run in vain." Nor was a settlement less desirable politically, for religious discord was likely to weaken the union between the two Northumbrian kingdoms, and this consideration must have inclined Oswiu, strongly as he held personally to the side of the Scots, to desire peace even at the price of their defeat. And socially he must have felt the position of affairs well-nigh intolerable. However earnest a man may be about Church matters, he will get more than enough of ecclesiastical controversy if he and his wife take opposite lines. And the difference of practice in Oswiu's household was, it seems, likely to become specially troublesome in 665, for in that year the king would be keeping his Celtic Easter, while his queen, following the Roman computation, would be fasting in Holy Week. Accordingly, acting on the advice of Agilbert, the two Northumbrian kings agreed to hold a conference or "synod," as Bede somewhat loosely terms it, at the place we now call Whitby, early in 664, to decide whether the customs of Rome or Iona had the stronger claim upon them and their people.

Agilbert seems to have done a good deal to forward the claims of Rome in Northumbria. He had, it will be remembered, succeeded Birinus as bishop of the West Saxons at the request of Cenwalh, and had his see at Dorchester. Now as we are told that Cenwalh won Alchfrith, who was his personal friend, over to the Roman party, it is highly probable that the West Saxon bishop had a hand in the king's conversion, especially as he was with Alchfrith in 661, and ordained Wilfrith to the priesthood. Before 664 he had ceased to be bishop of the West Saxons. Cenwalh grew tired of his foreign tongue, which seems to show that the English and Frankish languages had drifted farther apart since the days when St. Augustine procured

The West Saxon bishopric.

the services of Frankish interpreters. He determined to have a bishop at his court whose way of talking would not be disagreeable to him, and without consulting Agilbert, divided his bishopric into two dioceses, gave one of them to an Englishman named Wine, who had been consecrated in Gaul, and appointed his royal city Winchester as the place of Wine's see. Deeply offended at this high-handed invasion of his bishopric, Agilbert left Wessex, went to Northumbria to his friends Alchfrith and Wilfrith, stayed there until after the synod of Whitby, and then returned to Gaul, where he acted as a bishop, and after 666 became Bishop of Paris. His departure from Wessex left Winchester the sole West Saxon see. Some years later Wulfhere of Mercia extended his kingdom to the Thames, and Dorchester became the place of a Mercian see. As Bishop of Paris, Agilbert, on one occasion towards the end of his life, acted as a tool of Ebroin in a peculiarly disgraceful transaction, but so far as character went, Cenwalh, as we shall see, gained nothing in his new bishop.

The Whitby conference, 664.

To the conference at Whitby, which was a mixed gathering of laymen and of ecclesiastics of all orders, came the two kings Oswiu and Alchfrith, and on the Roman side Agilbert and his attendant priest Agatho, Wilfrith, James the deacon, Romanus, and probably Tuda. Tuda had been educated, and consecrated as a bishop, in Southern Ireland, where the Roman customs had been accepted, and had been doing useful work in Northumbria both by word and deed during the episcopate of Colman. On the side of the Scots were Colman and his clergy, the Abbess Hilda and her monks, and Bishop Cedd, who, having probably studied in Ireland, acted as interpreter. It was a Northumbrian gathering, for Cedd was Abbot of Lastingham as well as Bishop of the East Saxons. Oswiu opened the proceedings with a few words on the value of uniformity, and declared that they were met to decide what was the true tradition. He then called on Bishop Colman to declare the grounds of his practice. Colman said that he had received his Easter from his elders who had sent him, and from the fathers of his Church, and that it rested on the authority of St. John. Then Oswiu bade Agilbert declare whence his

practice was derived. Agilbert, however, requested that his "disciple" Wilfrith might speak for him, forasmuch as they both thought alike, and Wilfrith could state their case in English, whereas if he spoke himself, his words would have to be interpreted, for, as we have already seen, he never mastered the English tongue. Wilfrith then, at Oswiu's bidding, began somewhat in these words: We keep Easter as we have seen it kept at Rome, where the blessed Apostles, Peter and Paul, taught and suffered and are buried, and as it is kept in Africa, Asia, Egypt, Greece, and in every Christian Church throughout the world, save only by these men and their associates, the Picts and Britons, a portion only of the people of two remote islands, who are foolishly fighting against the world.

To this rather rude speech Colman replied by expressing his surprise that any one should speak contemptuously of the teaching of the beloved disciple. Wilfrith said that he had no such intention, and that St. John was justified in keeping the paschal feast on the fourteenth day of the first month at even, whether a Sabbath or not, because it was necessary for him to avoid giving offence to his Jewish converts. Peter, however, he said, when he preached at Rome, while agreeing with John in not celebrating the feast before the rising of the fourteenth moon at even, would, if the next day were a Lord's Day, keep it on that day "as we do now," but otherwise would keep it on the Lord's Day next following, up to the twenty-first day. But you, he went on, follow neither John nor Peter, neither the Law nor the Gospel. You keep the feast only on the Lord's Day, though John, in accordance with the law of Moses, cared not whether his feast fell on the day after the Sabbath, but you keep it from the fourteenth to the twentieth day, instead of, like Peter, from the fifteenth to the twenty-first. Colman replied by appealing to a canon, said to have been made by Anatolius, Bishop of Laodicea, in 270, which was really spurious, and had probably been manufactured in Northern Britain. According to this canon, the feast was to be kept on the Sunday from the fourteenth to the twentieth day of the moon. Colman further urged that it was incredible that Columba and his successors, men beloved of God, and some of them endowed with miraculous powers, should have thought and acted contrary to the Scriptures. He would, he said,

never cease to follow their example and teaching, for he was sure that they were saints.

Wilfrith admitted the authority of Anatolius, but argued that Anatolius followed the Egyptian reckoning and called the day which had a full moon before sunset, the fourteenth day, whereas the Scots called the fourteenth day that which was followed by the full moon. So that Anatolius made the day which was the fourteenth in the morning, the fifteenth in the evening, and in the same way with the twentieth and twenty-first days, treating the fourteenth day at evening as the beginning of the fifteenth day. As, however, the Easter feast naturally began in the early morning, Wilfrith's attempt to bring the so-called canon of Anatolius into agreement with the Roman usage does not seem specially happy. But what, he said, have you to do with Anatolius? For if you accept his canon you ought to adopt his cycle of nineteen years, which you either do not know, or else contemn. As for "your Columba" and his successors, he did not deny that they were holy, but they were, he said, uneducated men; they were not to be blamed, for they had no one to teach them better. And granting, he cried, that Columba was holy, and a worker of miracles, was his authority to be preferred to that of the blessed Prince of the Apostles, to whom the Lord said: "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it, and I give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven"? With these words he ended his argument. Then Oswiu said: "Is it true, Colman, that the Lord said this to Peter?" Colman answered, "It is true, O king." "Was such authority ever given to Columba?" He answered, "No." Again Oswiu asked, "Are you both agreed that the keys of heaven were given by the Lord to Peter?" Both Wilfrith and Colman answered, "Yes." "Then," said he, "I will not decide against the doorkeeper, lest when I come before the gates of heaven, he who holds the keys should not open unto me." The question of the tonsure was also discussed at length, and that too was decided against the Scots. The ground on which Oswiu based his decision, suggests that his mind had been made up before the conference began.

The decision.

Colman, seeing that his party was defeated, left Lindisfarne

with such of his monks as were Scots by race, and, taking with him part of the bones of St. Aidan, returned to Iona, and four years later went back to Ireland. Before leaving Northumbria, he obtained a promise from Oswiu that Eata, then abbot of Melrose, might be abbot of Lindisfarne, for he knew that he would be gentle with the English monks who remained there. He was succeeded in his bishopric by Tuda. Cedd, Eata, Cuthbert, and sooner or later, the English disciples of the Scots generally, adopted the Roman usages, and the mission of the Scots ended with the retirement of Colman, for the decision pronounced at Whitby definitely rejected the guidance of Iona. During the twenty-nine years that the mission had lasted, it had done great things for the English people, for the Scots offered themselves willingly when there was urgent need of men to carry on the work begun by the Romans. Aidan and his followers, Scots and English, completed the evangelisation of Northumbria, building on the foundation laid by Paulinus, and during the thirteen years that passed between Aidan's death and the conference at Whitby, missionaries of the Scots' communion converted the Midlands and recalled the East Saxons from their apostasy. The Scots and their disciples worked with a single aim, refusing all wealth and honours for themselves, and when the victorious party came into possession of Lindisfarne, they found only the church and a few rude huts, for Aidan's monks had neither silver nor gold nor flocks. Nor did they even accept land for building monasteries, unless it was forced upon them. They were loved and reverenced by the people. When one of them was travelling about he was everywhere received with gladness, those who met him on his road would eagerly ask his blessing, and at every place which he visited, people came in crowds from all the neighbourhood to hear him, for they knew that he came for no other reason than out of care for their souls, that he might preach, baptize, and visit the sick.

End of the Scots' mission.

While, however, the Scots were admirable missionaries, their work was done, for the Church in England was passing out of the mission stage and was beginning to need organisation and the means of orderly development. These they could not have supplied. The Scots'

Consequences of their overthrow.

system, such as it was, lacked diocesan arrangement, and its episcopate was subject to the abbot of Iona and his monks. The Scots were given to moving about; they were missionaries rather than pastors; their lives and feelings were ascetic, and they loved to retire, either for frequent periods or altogether, from active work and live as hermits. Their religion was apt to be ecstatic, and their asceticism excessive. Impulsive in temperament, they were inclined to exaggeration in conduct and were impatient of contradiction. The victory of the Roman party was decisive as regards the future relation between the English and Roman Churches. The English of early times regarded the Roman see with dutiful affection. The Gospel had first come to them from Rome. Gregory the Great had planted their Church as a national Church and had dealt with it in a liberal spirit, and his successors, while taking from time to time a lively interest in things that concerned its welfare, did not seek to bring it into bondage. For good and ill it was to remain for centuries affiliated to Rome. Some evils attended this affiliation. It will be enough to observe here that in later times the popes were not content to treat the English Church in the spirit of Gregory the Great, and that in seasons of national weakness it was exposed to papal aggression. Nevertheless it retained its national character and independent life, and was from the first, as we shall see, prompt in the assertion of its liberties.

On the other hand, the decision of 664 in favour of the Roman party brought the Church much good. It enabled it to receive from an archbishop sent from Rome the organisation and power of orderly development which were necessary to its efficiency, and it was the means of saving it from the degeneration which would have been the inevitable consequence of an unreasonable asceticism. The triumph of the Scots would have entailed isolation and decay. The connection of the English with Rome gave them a share in the progressive life of Western Christendom. Instead of rude wooden churches they were to have noble buildings and a stately ritual; their Church was to be a repository and teacher of learning, art, and science, and was to take a foremost part in the evangelisation of other lands and the planting of other Churches. Nor was this all. The very existence of the English

Church as a national institution was at stake at Whitby. So long as the schism lasted it was only in name the Church of the nation; it could not have become a really national Church if its ministry had depended on the rule of a monastery of Scots. The Church planted by Gregory and Augustine had become confined within narrow limits. At the beginning of 664 Northumbria and the Midlands, the whole of the kingdom of Wulfhere of Mercia, were under the ecclesiastical direction of the mission from Iona; the South Saxons and the people of the Isle of Wight were still unconverted; the Church in Wessex remained isolated and its Bishop, Wine, held communion with British bishops. Only Kent and East Anglia were in full communion with Canterbury and Rome; only so far did the authority extend of him who was the successor of Augustine, the Archbishop of the English. The withdrawal of the Scots' mission was followed, four years later, by the obedience of the whole of Christian England to the see of Canterbury. The Church thus became in reality as well as in name the Church of the English people, destined to exercise a far stronger influence on the lives of Englishmen than could have been attained by any other ecclesiastical institution, to become the bond of national unity, and to promote the formation of the English State.

AUTHORITIES.—Bede's *Hist. Eccles.* remains our chief authority, while for St. Cuthbert's life we have his *Vita S. Cudbercti* and its ground-work the *Vita auctore anon.*, both in *Bædæ Opera Historica Minora*, London, 1841, English Historical Soc. For Wilfrith, in addition to Bede, we have the *Vita Wilfridi* of "Eddius Stephanus," Eddi or Hædde, Wilfrith's disciple, which was used by Bede, and may be read in *Historians of York*, i., Rolls ser., which also contains Lives of Wilfrith by Frithegode (10th cent.), Eadmer (early 12th cent.), and an anonymous author. Eddi's work has been criticised searchingly by Mr. B. W. Wells in the *English Historical Review* vi. (1891) 535 sqq. On the paschal canon of Anatolius see *English Historical Review*, x. (1895), 515, 699, and Mr. Plummer's *Bede*, u.s. ii. 348 sqq. The battle of the Winwæd has been placed by most writers in Deira, by some in Bernicia, see Mr. Plummer's *Bede*, ii. 183. In addition to the theories quoted by Mr. Plummer, Sir James Ramsay is certain that the Winwæd is the Aire, *Foundations of England*, i. 188, London, 1898, while Mr. C. Bates would place the battle in Wedale, and would identify Iudeu with Inveresk, *Archæol. Æliana*, xix. Bede says that the battle was "in regione Loidis." In an earlier passage (*Hist. Eccles.* ii. 14) Loidis certainly means the Leeds district, see Green, *Making of England*, p. 254, London, 1881. Is it so here,

or does Loidis here mean the Lothians? Florence of Worcester and Nennius both point to a Bernician site, see Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, u.s. As before the battle Oswiu was in desperate straits in the extreme north of his kingdom, a Bernician site seems probable. Other authorities—the *Saxon Chronicle*, Florence of Worcester, and Henry of Huntingdon. The notes in Mr. Plummer's *Bede*, and Dr. Bright's *Early English Church History*, are still to be mentioned with gratitude.

CHAPTER VII

THE PLAGUE

This chapter will mainly be concerned with a brief and well-defined period, the short interval between the end of the Scots' mission and the arrival in England of Archbishop Theodore, an event which marks the beginning of a new epoch in the history of the English Church. The plague, 664-688?

Soon after the conference at Whitby a terrible plague fell on the land; it began in the south and spread northwards, carrying off a vast number of people. It is believed to have been a belated wave of the pestilence which broke out in the Delta of the Nile in 542, was conveyed by corn-ships to Byzantium, and swept away a large portion of the inhabitants of the then known world. It was a bubonic plague, probably an aggravated form of typhus complicated with buboes on the glands, and was apparently of the same character as the great pestilence of seven centuries later, sometimes called the Black Death, which visited England from time to time until its last appearance here in 1665. Bede says that it appeared suddenly, though, as we have seen, it is possible that there was a visitation either of the same, or of what seemed a kindred, disease in Northumbria in Oswald's reign. The Britons and Irish, who suffered from it as well as the English, called it the "yellow pest" from its effect on the colour of the skin. It infected England more or less for at least twenty-four years, for it was prevalent in Northumbria during the two visits of Adamnan, ninth Abbot of Iona, to the Northumbrian king in 686 and 688. We shall often hear of it, as it fell heavily on the clergy and monastic persons; extreme asceticism

having, no doubt, in many cases weakened the natural power of resistance to disease. On one day, July 14, 664, it carried off Earconbert, King of Kent, and Archbishop Deusdedit. Earconbert was succeeded by his son Ecgbert, but the see of Canterbury lay vacant for four years. Damian of Rochester also seems to have died of the plague, and five years elapsed before his see was filled. Cedd, who returned to Lastingham after the conference, was stricken with it, and died there, after having appointed his brother Ceadda (St. Chad) to succeed him as abbot. He was buried outside the wooden church which he had built. When the monks of his East Saxon monastery, either at Tilbury or at Ythanceaster, heard of his death, some thirty of them journeyed to Lastingham, desiring to live or, if it so pleased God, to die by the grave of their father. All of them died there of the plague, save one little lad who was spared, so Bede thought, in answer to Cedd's intercession, for the child as he grew up found out that he had never been baptized; he received baptism at Lastingham, and was thus, Bede says, saved from everlasting death by the prayer of his father Cedd, and grew up to be a good and useful priest.

Cuthbert as provost of Melrose.

At Melrose Cuthbert fell sick of the plague, and a tumour appeared on him.[1] During the whole of one night the brethren prayed for his recovery, and when on the following morning he was told of the intercession which had been made for him, he cried, "Why do I lie here? God will surely answer their prayers. Give me my staff and shoes." So he essayed to walk, and from that day grew better, but all the rest of his life he suffered from some internal pain, the consequence, it was thought, of his sickness. No sooner had he recovered than his master Boisil, the provost or prior, fell sick, and told him that he knew that he

[1] Mr. Plummer (*Bædæ Opp. Hist.* ii. 195), with Smith, the elder editor of Bede, and Raine, holds that this sickness of Cuthbert must be dated earlier than 664, because Bede says that he was provost of Melrose "aliquot annos," *Vita Cudb.* c. 9, and Simeon of Durham, *Hist. Dunelm. Eccl.* i. 3, that he was called to Lindisfarne in 664. This seems trusting too much to Simeon's order of narrative, which may be balanced by Florence of Worc. an. 664. Cuthbert certainly had the great plague which carried off many in Northumbria, see *Vita* u.s. c. 8, and therefore his sickness and Boisil's death must be dated 664; comp. *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* art. "Boisil" by Bp. Stubbs, and Canon Bright's *Early Engl. Ch. Hist.* p. 239 *n.*

had only seven days more to live, and that he wished to teach him something in that time. Cuthbert asked what they could read together that would be finished in seven days, and Boisil said that he had a copy of St. John's Gospel in seven folded sheets, and that with God's help they would read a sheet a day. So they two read the Gospel together day by day for seven days, treating it simply as a means of strengthening their faith and love, for they had no time to enter on difficult questions. After the reading of the seventh day Boisil died. More than four hundred years later, the "codex" of the Scriptures which Boisil and Cuthbert used to read together was still in existence at Durham. Cuthbert succeeded his old master as provost, and laboured much among the people of the country round, staying away from his monastery on preaching expeditions, sometimes a week and sometimes a whole month. He travelled, sometimes afoot and sometimes on horseback, to different villages, and visited many lonely dwellings on the hills, for no country was so rough or hill so steep as to hinder the monk whose youth had been spent in tending his flock on the Lammermuirs, from carrying God's message to men who were as sheep on the hills having no shepherd. There was a special need for his labours, for the plague caused many to fall away from the faith and seek safety in incantations and other heathenish practices. All heard him gladly, and those who had thus sinned, confessed their sin and repented. He did not abate the austerities of his life, and often spent whole nights in prayer. Once when he was visiting Coldingham, in the present Berwickshire, where Ælbbe, the half-sister of Oswiu, presided over a double monastery of men and women, one of the monks saw him go forth at night, and watched him stand, like Columba, till daybreak up to his neck in the sea, reciting the psalter. When he came to land, two seals followed him and fondled his feet, as though to dry them, until he dismissed them with his blessing, for, as it was in later days with St. Francis of Assisi, a beautiful sympathy seems to have existed between him and the animal creation.

The plague fell heavily on the East Saxons, and a large portion of the people relapsed into idolatry. They seem at that time to have been divided into two tribes, and were

ruled by two kings, Sebbe and his nephew Sighere, under the superiority of Wulfhere of Mercia. Sebbe, a devout man, stood firm in the faith, and all his people followed his example. Sighere and his people, however, apostatized, and many of them, nobles and others, hoping to avert the pestilence by pacifying the old gods of their race, chased away their Christian teachers, began to restore the deserted temples, and worshipped idols. When Wulfhere heard of their apostasy he sent Jaruman, his bishop, to preach to them, for their own bishop Cedd was dead. Jaruman was full of wisdom and holiness, and a priest who accompanied him on his missionary expedition told Bede how wisely and devotedly he laboured in Essex, going up and down in the land, until he had brought Sighere and his people back to Christianity. They abandoned or destroyed the temples which they had begun to rebuild, joyfully received their former teachers, and reopened their churches. Jaruman's work was carried on by a man of high birth named Earconwald, or Erkenwald, afterwards Bishop of London. Earconwald founded two monasteries as centres of Christian life; the one at Chertsey he ruled himself, the other at Barking, which was a double monastery, he committed to the charge of his sister Æthelburh, a woman of signal holiness and wisdom.

Apostasy and reconversion of the East Saxons.

The plague appears to have lingered a long time in Essex, for some years later it fell heavily on the newly-founded monastery at Barking. It first attacked the men's monastery, and as the "mother of the congregation" saw each day some of the monks carried forth to be buried, she thought anxiously of the hour when the plague would begin among the sisters, who, though living in the same settlement as the monks, were of course entirely separated from them. She would often talk with the sisters when they met in chapter about fixing on a place for a cemetery, where they might be laid when their time came. Nothing was settled until one night, after they had sung the psalms at lauds in their church with the aged monk and his assistant who conducted their services, they went out to sing them over again, as they were wont to do, by the newly-made graves in the monks' cemetery. As they sang in the darkness, a bright light from the sky

The plague at Barking.

shone upon them, and they were afraid so that they ceased to sing. The light moved until it rested over the southern part of the monastery to the west of their church, and then they knew the place where their bodies should await the day of Resurrection. It was not long before the new cemetery was used. There was in the monastery a little boy named Æsica, not more than three years old, who had been dedicated to the monastic life, and as he was so young, the sisters kept him in their part of the house and fed and tended him. He was struck with the plague, and as they watched by him, he called three times for one of the sisters who lay sick in another cell, crying "Eadgyth (Edith), Eadgyth, Eadgyth," and so with the name of her whom he loved upon his lips the child died. The soul of Eadgyth answered to his call, and before night came she joined the child in paradise. Another sister, as she lay dying of the plague at midnight, again and again asked the sisters who were nursing her to put out the candle, and when they did not heed her, thinking that she was delirious, she told them that she saw a light which made the candle seem dark. Later she said, "Burn your candle if you will, my light will come to me at dawn," and as the day broke she entered into the light that faileth not.

Tuda, the new bishop of the Northumbrians, died of the plague shortly after his appointment. The dominant influence of Alchfrith and the Roman party is illustrated by the appointment of his successor. The two kings and the witan joined in electing Wilfrith as bishop of the Northumbrians, and decided, in accordance with Alchfrith's wish, that his see should be at York, the city of the Roman Paulinus. Alchfrith sent him to Clothair III. that he might receive consecration in Gaul. This is said to have been at his own request, as he would not accept consecration from bishops consecrated by schismatics; for besides Wine, who was an intruder into Agilbert's see, there was probably only one bishop, Boniface of East Anglia, then alive in England, whose consecration was canonical in Wilfrith's eyes. Wilfrith's fame as the champion of the Roman Church was great, and either just before the end of 664, or more probably early in 665, he was consecrated Bishop of York by twelve bishops of Gaul, of whom

Wilfrith cons. Bp. of the Northumbrians, 665.

Agilbert was one, at Compiègne on the Oise. The ceremony was magnificent, and the officiating prelates, according to an ancient Gallican custom, themselves bore him into the church on a golden seat. The splendour and culture of the Church in Gaul exactly suited Wilfrith's tastes, and he was in no haste to return to England.

Meanwhile, affairs in Northumbria took an unexpected turn. It seems probable that an undated notice by Bede of a strife between Oswiu and his son is to be referred to this time, and that once again the rivalry between Deira, Alchfrith's province, and Bernicia affected ecclesiastical history. Alchfrith lost his kingdom, and was perhaps banished by his father. He wished to make a pilgrimage to Rome in company with Benedict Biscop, who was going thither for the second time, but Oswiu would not allow him to go, and he does not appear again in history. His cross at Bewcastle, in the present Cumberland, set up in 670 or 671, asks prayers for his soul, for his widow, his sister, and Wulfhere of Mercia. Deira came under the immediate rule of Oswiu, and he appointed Ceadda (St. Chad), the abbot of Lastingham, to be bishop of the Northumbrians in the place of his son's friend, the absent Wilfrith. This appointment implies a certain reaction against the predominance of the Roman party, though it was probably connected more closely with political than with ecclesiastical causes, for Oswiu kept the Northumbrian see at York, and sent Ceadda, who had adopted the Roman usages, to Canterbury for consecration, which proves that he had no thought of re-opening the questions settled at Whitby. When Ceadda came to Kent, he found the metropolitan see still vacant, and therefore went for consecration to Wine, the West Saxon bishop, who had his see at Winchester. Wine was anxious to obey the rule that not less than three bishops should act together as consecrators, and accordingly obtained the help of two British bishops, probably from the yet unconquered western land, who must have held to the Celtic usages. Ceadda, then, was consecrated as bishop of the Northumbrians by the canonical number of bishops, but one of them was an intruder, and the two others were held to be schismatical. This instance of co-operation on the part of

Deprived in favour of Ceadda.

British bishops with a bishop of the English Church is noteworthy; it seems significant of the change which Christianity had brought about in the character of the strife between the two races in the west. War was no longer the normal state of things, and it had become possible for Britons who lived beyond the pale of conquest to be on friendly terms with their English neighbours. Ecclesiastically, Wine's action illustrates the continued isolation of the Church in Wessex; it would have been impossible in the case of a bishop in close relations with Canterbury. Birinus, Agilbert, and Wine had all, it will be remembered, received their orders abroad, and their bishopric seems as yet to have been conducted as a purely West Saxon institution. Ceadda returned to Northumbria, occupied Wilfrith's see, and devoted himself to teaching the people, constantly journeying from one place to another, always going afoot in apostolic fashion, preaching the Gospel everywhere, and proving himself both in his life and labours a worthy disciple of his master Aidan.

Soon after Ceadda's consecration, probably in the spring of 666,[1] Wilfrith, not knowing that his bishopric had been taken from him, left Gaul with his priests and a hundred and twenty attendants. His ship was driven by a south-easterly gale on to the South Saxon coast and there stranded. The heathen people, who seem to have practised wrecking, as many nominally Christian people have done after them, collected in great numbers, intending to make captives of the passengers and crew, slay any that offered resistance, and divide the spoil. Wilfrith offered them ransom, but they refused it, for they had no mind to be put off with only a part of the treasures which they believed to be within their reach, and replied that they

His return to England.

[1] As the forty-fifth year of Wilfrith's episcopate was in 709, *Hist. Eccles.* v. c. 19, his consecration may be placed in 665. Ceadda was at York three years before he was ejected in 669, *ib.* iv. c. 2, v. c. 19, which places his consecration in 666, probably early in the year. The only difficulty as regards the sequence of events seems to arise from the idea that Bede, *ib.* iii. c. 28, says that when Ceadda went to Kent he did not know of the death of Abp. Deusdedit; and that therefore Ceadda's consecration must have taken place soon after July 14, 664. See Bishop Stubbs in *Councils and Eccles. Docs.* iii. 109. Bede's words do not necessarily imply this ignorance, "he found that Deusdedit had died, and that no other archbishop had been made in his room."

claimed all that the sea cast up. High on a neighbouring mound, the burial-place of some warrior, stood their chief priest chanting spells which were to bind the strangers' arms. His incantations were cut short, for one of Wilfrith's party slung a stone at him which laid him dead upon the sandy ground. Wilfrith's men stood close together; the heathen came on, and a sharp fight ensued, the bishop and his priests meanwhile praying for the success of their men. Thrice the heathen rushed to the attack, and thrice they were beaten back. They gathered for a fourth onset, and their king, Æthelwalh, who had probably not yet been converted through the instrumentality of Wulfhere, is said to have come to their aid, when the rising tide reached the stranded ship and floated her. Wilfrith and his party got aboard and pushed off, escaping with the loss of only five men, and the wind having changed, they sailed round the promontory we call Dungeness, and landed at Sandwich.

Wilfrith, finding himself dispossessed, retired quietly to his monastery at Ripon. At Wulfhere's request he discharged episcopal functions in Mercia after the death of Jaruman in 667. The king gave him several grants of land, on which he founded monasteries, among them one at Lichfield, where Wulfhere would have had him stay as bishop of the Mercians, but his heart was, doubtless, with his own church at York and his own people, so he refused, and bided his time. Nor were his energies confined to Mercia. At Ecgbert's request he acted as a bishop in Kent and ordained many priests and deacons there, for the see of Rochester was vacant by the death of Bishop Damian. During his visits to Canterbury he gathered round him several followers, Eddi, or Ædde, also called Stephen (Eddius Stephanus), his future biographer, Æona, and Putta whom he ordained priest, all three of them well skilled in the Roman method of chanting used at Canterbury. These and others, together with a number of masons and workers in all kinds of arts and crafts, travelled in his train, and were employed by him. Eddi became the first after James the deacon to teach the Roman or Gregorian chant in the North, where it was quickly adopted; while in Mercia the remains of the usages of the Scots rapidly gave way before the activity of Wilfrith and his followers.

Meanwhile, in 667, Oswiu of Northumbria and Ecgbert of Kent took counsel together concerning "the state of the English Church," for as Oswiu was the most powerful of the English kings, and Canterbury lay in Ecgbert's kingdom, they felt that it was incumbent on them to take some step to put an end to the vacancy of the metropolitan see. Accordingly, they chose as a successor to Archbishop Deusdedit a priest named Wighard, one of the clergy of the church of Canterbury, who was well versed in ecclesiastical learning, the "holy Church of the English people" in some way joining in the election. The kings sent Wighard to Rome with gifts of gold and silver vessels, and a letter to the pope asking him to consecrate him as "archbishop of the Church of the English." This joint action of the two kings is a sign of their recognition of the unity of the Church, and is a remarkable instance of the effect which this ecclesiastical unity had in bringing about an approach towards national unity.

Wighard Abp. elect.

Soon after Wighard had delivered the letter to Pope Vitalian, he and nearly all his company were carried off by a pestilence. On this Vitalian wrote to Oswiu, and after many expressions of delight at his faith, and a few words on the importance of observing the Catholic Easter, told him that he was anxiously seeking a fit man to send to him as archbishop, according, to quote his words, "to the tenour of your letter," but found it a hard matter on account of the length of the journey. It will be noted that, so far as we know, the pope had not been asked to choose an archbishop, but simply to consecrate Wighard to the metropolitan see. It has, therefore, been held that he read the kings' letter his own way, and by treating it as a general request to provide an archbishop, sought to increase his power over the English Church. On the other hand, it has been supposed that the kings' letter probably left him some discretion in the matter. While we do not know what the kings wrote, it is scarcely credible that in sending Wighard to Rome for consecration they would suggest that the pope might see fit to reject him and select some one in his place. Yet we are not consequently bound to consider Vitalian's action as an insidious attempt to increase the power of the Roman see; the unforeseen had

happened, and his clear duty was to do the best he could for the welfare of the Church. This he did, and in doing so was justified in believing that he was acting in accordance with the spirit of the letter he had received, for what the two kings had at heart was the speedy consecration of some suitable man to the metropolitan see, not the promotion of a particular priest. Vitalian's letter shows that he was aware of the condition of the English Church, for he refers to the work which the future archbishop would have to do in eradicating the remains of customs held to be schismatical, or, as he says, rooting out the tares of the evil one. Along with his letter he sent relics to Oswiu, and a special relic to Eanflæd with words of praise for her zeal in good works. His praise was deserved since it was doubtless largely owing to her influence that Oswiu had been brought over to the Roman side.

Fully recognising the importance of the choice which he was unexpectedly called upon to make, Vitalian anxiously set about seeking for the best man to send to England as archbishop. He first fixed on Hadrian, an African by race, the abbot of a monastery near Monte Cassino, who was deeply learned both in the Greek and Latin languages, and well skilled in ecclesiastical and monastic discipline. Hadrian, however, refused the pope's offer on the plea that he was unworthy of the episcopate. His *Nolo episcopari* was not a mere form, he promised to find the pope a more suitable and more learned man. He suggested a monk named Andrew, the priest of a monastery of women near Rome, who was held by all his acquaintance to be worthy of the episcopate, but bodily infirmity rendered him unfit for consecration. At last Hadrian proposed Theodore to the pope. Theodore, a native of Tarsus in Cilicia, was already sixty-five years of age, he had studied at Athens, he had a scholarly knowledge of Greek and Latin, of sacred and secular literature, and specially of philosophy, and was highly respected as a man of weight and integrity. He was a monk, probably of the rule of St. Basil, and had not as yet taken even subdeacon's orders. It may be that he came to Rome in the train of the Emperor Constans II., who visited Athens in 662 and proceeded to Italy the next year. The pope promised to consecrate him if Hadrian, who had twice been in Gaul,

Theodore cons. Abp., 668.

and would therefore be useful as a guide, and was further able to provide him with attendants, would go with him to England, and would stay with him to assist him in matters of doctrine. It is evident from this that Vitalian feared lest Theodore might be infected with the monothelite heresy, which was then agitating no small part of Christendom. The monothelites held that Christ had but one will, a divine will, a tenet which was destructive of the Catholic doctrine that our Lord offered Himself as a willing sacrifice for the sin of the world. This view was the fruit of Eastern philosophy, and was closely connected with the heresy of the monophysites who held that Christ had but one nature. It had been promulgated by the Emperor Heraclius for political reasons about 629, in the hope of making it a basis of reconciliation between the Catholic and heretical parties in the empire, and Honorius I. had agreed that there was only one will in Christ. Martin I., however, boldly remonstrated with Constans II., who adopted the heresy of his grandfather Heraclius, and sought to force it upon his Catholic subjects. The pope's heroic defence of orthodoxy was cruelly punished by the emperor; he was dethroned, carried off to Constantinople, imprisoned, and finally banished to the Crimea, where he died, destitute but unyielding, on September 16, 655. Vitalian, though his reception of Constans at Rome shows that he was of a less resolute spirit than Martin, was orthodox, and was evidently anxious that the English Church should be preserved from the heresy of the Greeks. His anxiety, creditable as it was to him, was groundless. Theodore, while attached to the severe discipline of the Greeks, was free from any heretical taint; his doctrine and his life alike were pure. He was ordained subdeacon in November 667, and then as he wore the Eastern tonsure, having his whole head shaved, he had to wait for four months before higher orders were conferred upon him, in order that his hair might grow sufficiently to admit of his receiving the Roman tonsure. At last, on Sunday, March 26, 668, he was consecrated by Vitalian at Rome.

He set out on his journey on May 27 in company with Hadrian. Benedict Biscop, who had lately become a monk at Lerins, had again visited Rome; he was persuaded by Vitalian

to cut short his visit for Theodore's sake, and willingly undertook to be his guide and interpreter in Gaul. After sailing to Marseilles, Theodore and his company went by land to Arles, where he presented a commendatory letter from the pope to John the archbishop. John detained him at Arles until he could hear what Ebroin, the powerful mayor of the palace of the King of Neustria and Burgundy, wished concerning him. When at length Ebroin's permission came for him to continue his journey, he went on to Paris. There he was hospitably received by Agilbert, then bishop of the city, and as winter was near at hand stayed with him, no doubt learning much from him about the English Church and people, while Hadrian visited his friends the Bishops of Meaux and Sens. When the winter had passed, Ecgbert, hearing from certain envoys that the archbishop was in Gaul, for whom he and Oswiu had asked (for so Bede speaks of Theodore, having no idea of any undue assumption on the part of the pope), at once sent his high reeve Rædfrith to bring him to Canterbury. Ebroin gave Theodore leave to depart, but would not allow Hadrian to go with him, for he suspected him of being a political envoy sent by Constans to the English kings with designs hostile to the monarchy he supported. Theodore went with Rædfrith to Quentavic, or Etaples, then the usual place of embarkation from Gaul for England, and was there delayed for some time by illness. As soon as he began to recover he crossed to England, and was received at Canterbury on May 27, 669. Hadrian joined him soon afterwards.

His journey to England.

Before Theodore's arrival the English Church can scarcely be said to have existed except in name and idea. The prospect that it would speedily answer to the expectation formed at the consecration of Augustine was clouded over by the defeat and death of Eadwine. The schism which followed left Canterbury with the obedience of a comparatively small part of the English people; nearly all the rest looked to Iona as the place of such authority as was acknowledged, while the West Saxon see was apparently isolated. Though the authority of Iona had been broken at Whitby, the seat of Augustine had not been occupied during the five years which had passed since the death of

The work that awaited him.

Deusdedit, so that there was no one to unite the Church by the bond of a universal obedience. The first thing that the new archbishop had to do for the Church was to give it unity. Succeeding in that, he would be able to eradicate the remains of Celtic customs, and so put an end to the diversity of practice and consequent discord which were impairing the spiritual life and efficiency of the Church. Next to unity the Church needed organisation. Its lack of organisation was partly due to the peculiar character of the Scots' Church. There was no diocesan system, and the bishop was not tied to his bishopric; he might, like Cedd, preside over a monastery in a distant part and in another bishopric, and spend much of his time there. Again, the English bishoprics were generally of enormous extent, for they followed the lines of kingdoms and varied with their fortunes. As each king became Christian, the bishop who converted him and his people became the bishop of his whole kingdom, even though it stretched from the Humber to the Firth of Forth. If the Church was to have any organisation or orderly life, it was incumbent on the new archbishop to found a diocesan system, to subdivide the vast bishoprics into dioceses of more moderate size, to place each under the exclusive care of its own bishop, and to cause each bishop to devote himself to the care of his own diocese. Excluding Boniface of East Anglia, who died in the year of Theodore's arrival, the latter found only three English bishops, the dispossessed Wilfrith, Ceadda who occupied Wilfrith's see, and Wine. He had therefore a fairly open field for his operations, though his plans for the subdivision of dioceses met with serious opposition.

In organisation.

Along with an increase in the episcopate, the Church needed a means of self-government and legislation. The lack of such machinery tended to throw all ecclesiastical power into the hands of the kings, and the results which would have ensued may be gathered from actual events. Cenwalh, after getting rid of Agilbert, dismissed Wine, who, about 666, bought the see of London from Wulfhere. The institution of canonical synods in which the Church might legislate and act for itself was one of the reforms which demanded Theodore's early attention. And with this need for self-government there was also a need for a disciplinary system which might control the

passions and regulate the lives of both clergy and laity. For though the Scots and their followers exercised a fairly despotic authority over their disciples, their discipline was too austere and their actions too impulsive to render them fit directors of men of English race, who needed a spiritual rule of a more moderate and practical kind, administered by men of greater experience in the affairs of life.

Lastly, the Church needed to be saved from the dangers and puerilities of a morbid asceticism. A large number of its ministers were monks, and the monasticism of the Scots and their followers had, as has already been said, a strong tendency to exaggeration. The English, clergy, monks, and laity, needed to be taught the relative importance in the Christian life of active work and contemplative devotion. English monasticism had to be saved from the follies of over-strained asceticism. Its salvation was to be effected by the diversion of monastic zeal into new and more wholesome channels. This was another task for Theodore, who was to fulfil it by making the English monasteries places of secular as well as religious learning, and leading his disciples and followers of both sexes to engage in education. Other interests and occupations, and especially foreign missions, speedily exercised a similar influence on the lives of men and women under monastic vows, and for a while monastic life in England under its best conditions was a model of noble and unselfish energy. These other influences were less directly due to Theodore, and will be considered later. For the present, it will be enough to note that the educational work carried on by Theodore, Hadrian, and those who learnt from them, was of the highest moral and religious benefit to the Church. Such, then, was the work which awaited the new archbishop; he was called upon to unite the Church of the English, to organise it by giving it an efficient and orderly episcopate and the means of self-government, to institute a rational disciplinary system, and to turn the religious of both sexes from an overweening enthusiasm for extravagant asceticism to a zeal for learning and teaching. It was a gigantic task to lie before a man of sixty-six, as Theodore was when he was consecrated. God lengthened his

In guidance.

days and gave him strength and wisdom for the work whereunto He had called him.

AUTHORITIES.—The original authorities for this chapter are virtually only Bede's *Hist. Eccles.*, and *Vitæ Abbatum*, ed. Plummer, *Vita S. Cudbercti*, u.s., and Eddi's *Vita Wilfridi*, u.s. The work of Eddi, which was used by Bede, is violently eulogistic of Wilfrith, and should be checked by Bede's narrative, which, on the other hand, shows by the suppression of certain facts some dislike of Wilfrith. For the plague of 664 see Dr. C. Creighton's *History of Epidemics in Britain*, 2 vols. Cambridge, 1891, vol. i. Reference should be made to Bp. Stubbs's art. "Theodore of Tarsus" in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* iv. For the ascetic spirit of primitive English monasticism and the whole effect of Theodore's introduction of learning, see Bp. Stubbs in *Memorials of the Reign of Richard I.* vol. ii., *Epp. Cantuar.* Introd. xv.-xvi., Rolls ser. Other authorities as in Chap. VI.

CHAPTER VIII

ORGANISATION

Soon after his arrival in England, Theodore set out on a tour of visitation through all parts where the English were settled, with the exception, probably, of the land of the heathen South Saxons, taking Hadrian with him, and leaving Benedict Biscop as abbot in charge of the Abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul, or St. Augustine's, at Canterbury, apparently until Hadrian's return. He everywhere taught the right rule of living and the canonical Easter. He everywhere required, and received, an acknowledgment of his authority, his success in this respect no doubt being due in part to the weight with which he was invested as coming directly from Rome, though his own ability and character must have largely contributed to it. He was, Bede says, "the first archbishop to whom the whole English Church made submission." Nor was its submission to him merely nominal, for he corrected all that he found amiss, and filled up vacant bishoprics. He consecrated Bise to succeed Boniface as Bishop of the East Anglians at Dunwich, and Wilfrith's priest, the choir-master Putta, as Bishop of Rochester. The West Saxon bishopric had remained vacant since the expulsion of Wine; and Cenwalh, who, after getting rid of two bishops, was in want of a third, had sent to invite Agilbert to return, but Agilbert would not leave the see of Paris, and sent him in his stead his nephew, a priest named Leutherius or Lothere, who was joyfully received by the king and his witan, and was consecrated by Theodore at Winchester in 670. While visiting the north in 669, Theodore told Ceadda (Chad) that his

Abp. Theodore's visitation.

consecration was irregular. Ceadda humbly replied, "If you know that I received the episcopate irregularly, I am willing to resign it, for I never thought myself worthy of it, and accepted it only for obedience sake." Moved by the humility of his reply, Theodore said that it would be better that his consecration should be carried out afresh. For the moment Ceadda retired to his monastery at Lastingham, and Wilfrith again took possession of the see of York as Bishop of the Northumbrians.

In a short time Theodore, who loved Ceadda for his holiness and humility, was able to provide him with a bishopric, for Wulfhere of Mercia sent to him asking him for a bishop for his people in place of Jaruman. Accordingly, having obtained permission from Oswiu, whose subject Ceadda was as abbot of Lastingham, Theodore completed Ceadda's consecration, and made him Bishop of the Mercians and of the people of Lindsey, then under Mercian rule. What Theodore actually did on this occasion is a disputed point. Eddi, Wilfrith's biographer and a contemporary, says that he conferred all the orders on Ceadda, as though his ordination had been invalid from the beginning, and finally consecrated him. On the other hand it is argued that this is impossible, for, setting aside the co-operation of the British bishops, Ceadda's consecration was valid, as Wine, though an intruder into Agilbert's see, had been consecrated by Catholic bishops, and consecration by a single bishop, though uncanonical, was not invalid. It has been supposed, therefore, that all that Theodore did was to supply some defect in ritual consequent on the laxity of Wine in acting with schismatical bishops. This seems a rather summary treatment of Eddi's assertion, and is scarcely consonant with Bede's words, who says that Theodore completed Ceadda's consecration afresh (*denuo catholica ratione consummavit*). Eddi's assertion is probably correct, for Theodore's "Penitential" lays down that all ordained by bishops of the Scots or Britons who held to the Celtic usages had no orders in the Catholic Church, until their orders had been confirmed by the imposition of the hands of a Catholic bishop. Not only then was there some ritual defect in Ceadda's consecration, but his earlier orders were invalid in Theodore's eyes. He

Ceadda, Bp. of the Mercians, 669-672.

would not therefore complete his consecration until he had confirmed his orders by fresh rites. Had he done otherwise, he would have seemed either to affirm his orders, or to consecrate him as bishop without his having passed through them, which would have been uncanonical, and was only recognised as lawful when the will of God was believed to be unmistakably shown, as when St. Ambrose was consecrated bishop, though still a layman and recently baptized. Theodore then, having made good the ordination of Ceadda, proceeded to remedy some ritual defect, real or supposed, in his consecration. With kindly consideration he bade him give up his practice of always going afoot, and told him to ride on horseback when he went on long journeys. Ceadda hesitated, for he was unwilling to spare himself any labour; the archbishop would not be denied, and with his own hands set him on a horse. Ceadda's humility and unselfishness enabled Theodore to carry out the first and most urgent instalment of his work without opposition. In two years after his landing, he restored the episcopate and united the whole Church in obedience to himself. In so doing, he paid no regard to Gregory's plan for two archbishoprics, which must therefore be held to have been set aside at Rome. At last the idea expressed in the title "Archbishop of the English people" was carried out in fact; the English Church was one, the Church of all English Christians, united by the bond of obedience to its archbishop.

Ceadda's character.

Ceadda fixed his see at Lichfield, which had before been designed by Wulfhere as the seat of his bishop, and lived there for two years and a half. Wulfhere gave him land for a monastery in Lindsey at a place which may probably be identified with Barrow, near Goxhill, that he and his successors might have a residence in that division of his vast bishopric. He spent his time for the most part in travelling about preaching the Gospel, as he had done in Northumbria. Yet he had of course some seasons of rest. Near his church at Lichfield, which was dedicated to St. Mary, and stood to the east of the present cathedral church, he built himself a hut, and there he dwelt when he was not engaged in preaching in other parts, and passed his days in reading and prayer with seven or eight of his monks.

Ever recognising the presence of God and mindful of the uncertainty of life, he was full of godly awe, which was apparent in all his words and actions. Everything that seemed to him to be a reminder of God's nearness to him, brought him thoughts of the day when the Lord should appear as the Judge of quick and dead, and impelled him to self-examination and contrite prayer. Trumbert, a monk of Lastingham and later one of Bede's teachers, used to tell how when Ceadda was abbot there, he would close the book from which he was reading, if he heard the wind howl across the moors, and would fall on his knees in prayer, and how if a storm arose and it thundered, he would go into the church and pray and recite psalms until the storm had passed away, for he would say, "The Lord hath thundered from heaven; the Most High hath given His voice." This consciousness of standing always in the awful presence of God was the secret of his deep humility.

Early in 672 the plague carried off a large number of his monks, and so it happened on a time that he was staying in his house with only one monk named Owine. This Owine, whose tomb is still to be seen in Ely cathedral, had been the steward of Æthelthryth, or St. Etheldreda, a daughter of the good king Anna, and the wife of Ecgfrith, the son and successor of Oswiu. He had left all that he had, and appeared at Ceadda's monastery at Lastingham carrying an axe and a hatchet, for as he had not enough learning to study the Scriptures, he determined to serve God by working with his hands. He had followed Ceadda to Lichfield, and was with him when the call came to the bishop which had come to so many of his monks. One day, when he was working in the fields near the bishop's dwelling, Owine deemed that he heard sweet voices singing, and the sound was as though it was coming down from heaven to earth, and at last it filled the oratory where he knew that Ceadda was. As he looked towards the building, Ceadda opened the window and clapped his hands, as he was wont to do when he would call some one to him. Owine obeyed the call, and Ceadda bade him go to the church and fetch "the seven brethren," evidently the elders of the monastery, and come back with them. When they had come, he exhorted them to live in love and peace

His death.

together, and diligently to observe the monastic rule and all that they had learnt from him. For, said he, "the gentle guest who has of late visited our brethren, has deigned to come to me to-day and call me from this world," and he bade them tell the brethren to pray for him and to watch with prayer and good works for the day of their own departure. Seven days later, on March 2, he died, after having received the Holy Eucharist. While other fathers of the English Church have equalled St. Chad in diligence and devotion, his place is high among those holy and humble men of heart, who, having lived as in the constant presence of God, stand before their Lord's face and praise Him and magnify Him for ever.

When Theodore had ended his visitation in 671, he gave Hadrian the abbacy of St. Peter and St. Paul in obedience to the command of Vitalian, that he should provide him a place where he might settle with his followers.

The School at Canterbury.

Benedict Biscop accordingly resigned the government of the house, and for a third time visited Rome. With Hadrian's help, Theodore set himself to make Canterbury a place of education, so that from it learning might be spread throughout his whole province. A crowd of scholars resorted to Canterbury, and received instruction from the archbishop and abbot in the Scriptures, in Latin and Greek, verse-making, music, astronomy, and arithmetic as applied to the computation of the ecclesiastical seasons. Theodore also lectured on medicine, for one of his scholars, John of Beverley, when Bishop of York, quoted a maxim of his that it was dangerous to bleed a patient when moon and tide were waxing; and the archbishop himself recorded his belief that hare's flesh was good for dysentery, for he wished to combat a popular superstition against eating it. Many who, besides John of Beverley, became famous in the Church, were educated under Theodore and Hadrian; and Bede says that in his own day some of these scholars could speak Latin and Greek like their mother-tongue, and that in Theodore's time learning was so widely spread, that whoever would could find some one able to instruct him in the Scriptures. The School at Canterbury became in after-days a model for a school at York, from which religion and learning were carried to continental nations.

The Church having been united in obedience to its primate,

Theodore made a momentous advance in its organisation by holding a national synod at Hertford on September 24, 673. His action appears to have been independent of any regal authority. Of his six suffragans, four—Bise, Putta, Lothere, and Winfrith, who succeeded Ceadda at Lichfield—were present in person; Wilfrith sent representatives, and Wine was absent. Along with them sat many men learned in canonical matters, but these were not a constituent part of the assembly, which was a council of bishops, a synod, according to the anciently restricted signification of the word. Its acts are preserved by Bede. It was opened by the archbishop, who, after speaking of his desire for united action, founded on the decisions of the fathers, and saying much as to the need of charity, asked each bishop in turn if he would consent to the ancient and canonical decrees of the fathers of the Church. All having agreed, he produced a collection of canons compiled by Dionysius Exiguus early in the sixth century, in which he said that he had marked sundry passages as specially applicable to their needs, and on these passages he founded ten canons, briefly, to the following effect— The Synod of Hertford, 673.

(i.) That all should keep Easter on the Sunday after the 14th moon; (ii.) That no bishop should trespass on the diocese of another; (iii.) That no bishop should trouble any monastery or take away its possessions; (iv.) That no monk should wander from his own monastery to another unless by permission of his abbot; (v.) That no clergyman should leave his diocese without letters commendatory from his diocesan, and should return if summoned by his bishop, on pain of excommunication; (vi.) That stranger bishops and clergy should not officiate in a diocese without leave of the diocesan; (vii.) That a synod should meet twice a year—after discussion it was decided to meet once a year on August 1, at a place called Clovesho, which has not been identified satisfactorily, but was probably in the Mercian dominions, and near London. (viii.) That precedence among bishops should be regulated by the dates of consecration; (ix.) That the number of the episcopate should be increased. This was debated but deferred. (x.) That only lawful marriage should be allowed; that no one should commit incest; that no one should leave his wife except, as the Gospel teaches, for the cause of fornication, and that no Christian who had put

away his wife should marry another. When these canons had been accepted, Theodore caused his notary to write them out, and he and all the bishops signed them. By the second, fifth, and sixth of these canons, Theodore established an orderly diocesan system in place of the individual and irresponsible efforts of the Scots. His attempt to advance farther in the same direction by obtaining a vote for the subdivision of dioceses, met with opposition and was checked. He caused the Church to speak decisively against the prevailing laxity as regards marriage, and to demand nothing short of the moral rules laid down by its Divine Lord.

English Church. Councils.

The unsettled relations of the different kingdoms must have rendered it impossible that national synods should meet regularly, as ordained by the seventh canon. Yet there are more notices of such meetings than might be expected, considering the frequent wars in the island; they were not, however, held at any fixed date, or so frequently as Theodore intended. Clovesho became a place of meeting, but councils were held at other places also, according to convenience, and generally on the borders of kingdoms. As the only other synod held, so far as is known, by Theodore, did not meet at Clovesho, it is evident that he laid no great stress on the question of place. After the creation of the northern archiepiscopate, each archbishop held councils of his own province. Other councils, more or less ecclesiastical in character, of single kingdoms, will be met with hereafter; they were little if at all different from witenagemots engaged in ecclesiastical business. The clerical element was always strong in a witenagemot, and would naturally be specially strong when business connected with the Church and clergy was to be transacted. It is therefore often impossible to distinguish between an ecclesiastical and a secular council. As a general rule, all Church councils were held in the presence of kings, their chief officers and nobles, and though there is no means of ascertaining how far they took part in legislation and other ecclesiastical action, their assent was certainly regarded as important. Apart from its enactments, the synod of Hertford has a peculiar significance; it was the first occasion on which the English Church deliberated and acted as a single body. The

Church owed to Theodore its voice, and its constitutional machinery for discussion and legislation concerning matters that pertained to its jurisdiction. Nor must Theodore's work in this respect be regarded only as of ecclesiastical moment. His synod was the first English national assembly, and as such was the forerunner of the witenagemots and parliaments of a united and indivisible nation, which had yet to be formed out of the discordant elements of the heptarchic kingdoms.

In spite of the adjournment of his proposal for the subdivision of dioceses, Theodore soon took a step in that direction. The basis on which he worked was, as will be seen, tribal and territorial. Instead of bishoprics extending over whole kingdoms, he created dioceses, conterminous with the settlements of tribes or peoples which preceded the establishment of the kingdoms. These settlements had each some kind of separate administrative machinery, and each remained a definite part of a kingdom. His bishops were to be bishops of tribes or peoples, each with a diocese embracing the territory occupied by the people over whom he was set as spiritual ruler. East Anglia afforded the first opening for carrying out his plan. Bishop Bise was incapacitated by sickness, and retired from his bishopric about 673, and Theodore, while consecrating a successor to him at Dunwich, formed the northern division of the kingdom, the territory of the North folk, our Norfolk, into a separate diocese, with its see at Elmham, and consecrated a bishop for that people, leaving the bishop at Dunwich to preside over a diocese comprising the territory of the South folk.

The division of the East Anglian bishopric.

About two years later, Theodore was able to give the East Saxons a bishop after his own heart. The simoniacal Wine died perhaps in 675. He is said to have repented bitterly of his sin, and to have retired from his bishopric three years before his death, but the story is too late to be of any authority, and he certainly held his bishopric until his death. In his place Theodore consecrated Earconwald, the founder of Chertsey and Barking, to the see of London. Earconwald, who had already done much good among the East Saxons, may be regarded as a sort of founder of the church of his see. Mellitus left it

The sees of London and Winchester.

soon after the death of Æthelbert, and the people refused to receive him back; Cedd, who was consecrated to the bishopric of the East Saxons some thirty-seven years later, was not made Bishop of London, and did not reside there, and Wine, who bought the see, is not likely to have done any good to his church. Earconwald was a man of remarkable holiness and force of character; he enriched his church, and brought his diocese into an organised condition. His influence extended throughout the south of England, he was honoured and beloved by his own flock, and after his death was reverenced as a saint. Bede says that the wood of the litter which the bishop used in his last illness had power to heal the sick, and in mediæval times the days of "St. Erkenwald's" deposition and translation were kept at St. Paul's as festivals of the highest rank. On the death of Lothere, the bishop of the West Saxons, Theodore consecrated as his successor, Hædde, a good man and a just, not specially learned, though the friend of learned men, and, above all, of Theodore himself. Hædde translated the body of St. Birinus from Dorchester to Winchester, and thus definitely settled the West Saxon see in the cathedral church of St. Peter and St. Paul, where miracles were for centuries believed to have been wrought at the shrine of the apostle of the West Saxons.

Theodore had to meet with some opposition in a quarter from which he could have little expected it. Winfrith, the successor of Ceadda at Lichfield, bishop of the Mercians, Middle Anglians, and the people of Lindsey, was a good and modest man, yet in 675 Theodore deposed him from his bishopric for some disobedience. It is probable that this disobedience consisted in opposition to the archbishop's plan for subdividing the Mercian bishopric. Winfrith had been one of Ceadda's clergy, and may well have felt it his duty to oppose the new system which Theodore was introducing, especially as it would diminish the bishopric of his old master. In deposing him from his see, Theodore appears to have acted simply on his own authority, and without the concurrence of Winfrith's co-bishops. If so, his action was uncanonical, for the law of the Catholic Church ordains that when accusation is made against a bishop, he shall

The new Mercian Dioceses.

answer before a synod of bishops, and that if a bishop is deposed by a metropolitan, he shall have a right of appeal to the synod of the province. Theodore, however, is by no means the only great man who has found it advisable or necessary to disregard rules or orders of one sort or another in carrying out his work. Whether Winfrith made an attempt to appeal to Rome against the archbishop's sentence is not known. He will appear again as travelling in Gaul, where he had an unlucky experience. He retired to the monastery of Barrow, over which he seems to have retained the rule held by him while bishop of the people of Lindsey, and there ended his days in godly fashion. In his place Theodore consecrated Sexulf, the founder and abbot of Medeshamstead, the present Peterborough. Soon after this, Æthelred, who had succeeded his brother Wulfhere as King of the Mercians, invaded Kent, destroyed churches and monasteries, burnt Rochester, and laid waste the bishop's property. Bishop Putta, who happened to be absent from Rochester at the time, would not return to his see, and Theodore consecrated another bishop in his place. Putta went to Lichfield, to Bishop Sexulf, who gave him a church and a little estate at Hereford, where he stayed and taught church music, and did mission work, probably discharging some episcopal duties.

Before long Theodore carried out the subdivision of the vast Mercian bishopric. His success appears to have been due to his action in a political crisis. When Ecgfrith of Northumbria was at war with Æthelred, the Mercian king, in 679, and a fierce battle had been fought, Theodore interposed between them in a manner worthy of his office, and by his exhortations put an end to a war which seemed likely to be long and bloody. His conduct won the respect of both kings; Æthelred became one of his dearest friends, and with the concurrence of the under-king of the Hwiccas, invited him to divide the Mercian bishopric. According to a late though valuable authority, he divided the Mercian dominions into five dioceses. Worcester he made the cathedral city of a bishopric for the Hwiccas, and appointed to it Tatfrith, one of Hilda's disciples. Tatfrith died before consecration, and Theodore supplied his place by consecrating Bosel. Leicester he made the see of a bishop for the Middle

Anglians. Lichfield was retained by Sexulf as the see of the bishopric of the Mercians proper. A fourth see was fixed at Sidenaceaster or Stow, for the bishops of the people of Lindsey, then under Mercian rule; and a fifth was, we are told, placed at Dorchester, in our Oxfordshire, to which he consecrated Ætla, another of Hilda's monks. This implies that Dorchester and the country north of the Thames had been conquered by the Mercians. Ætla had no immediate successor at Dorchester, which after his death was presumably included in the diocese of Leicester, until the bishop moved his see from Leicester to Dorchester in the ninth century. This fivefold division of the Mercian bishopric is recorded as though effected in 679, and probably the whole scheme was sanctioned by the witan at one time, though it may have been carried out by degrees at dates not far apart. A sixth Mercian bishopric, with its see at Hereford, appears at a somewhat later date; that too was instituted by Theodore, and was, no doubt, part of his original plan, for it completed the tribal division of the Mercian dominions by providing the Hecanas with a bishop of their own. That it did not, as it seems, appear in the scheme which was probably laid before the witan, would be accounted for by the residence of Putta among the Hecanas; he is traditionally reckoned as the first Bishop of the Hecanas, but this is going too far, for if, as may be supposed, he acted as bishop among that people, he must have done so only as Sexulf's deputy.

Spiritual activity.

The subdivision of the Mercian and other over-large bishoprics by Theodore must not be regarded simply as administrative measures; they had a direct bearing on the spiritual welfare of the people. In every new diocese, the bishop's church became a centre of evangelistic and pastoral activity. The bishop lived surrounded by his clergy and monks who were engaged in divine service, in preaching, and in education; his church was the mother of the churches which were gradually built in his diocese, and from it were supplied the clergy who served them, and who before long became parish priests; for a localised, though as yet it can scarcely be called a parochial, ministry was already growing up. About the time of the increase in the Mercian episcopate, two pious brothers Osric

and Oswald, who ruled over the Hwiccas in subordination to the Mercian king, were active in the work of the Church among their people. Osric was probably one of the ealdormen, or under-kings, of the Hwiccas at the time of the subdivision of the Mercian bishopric.[1] A charter, on which it is impossible to rely certainly, makes him the founder of a monastery of consecrated virgins at Bath, and he is also said to have founded St. Peter's monastery at Gloucester, where his sister Cyneburh, who was consecrated by Bishop Bosel, was first abbess, and was succeeded by her sister Eadburh. His brother Oswald, also an ealdorman of the Hwiccas, founded a monastery for men at Pershore, in the present Worcestershire.

In the North the remains of the Scottish influence were rapidly disappearing under Bishop Wilfrith's energetic and magnificent rule. As soon as he regained his see in 669, his character and abilities gave him a commanding position. Oswiu became wholehearted in his adherence to the Roman obedience, and feeling that his end was near prayed him to act as his guide on a pilgrimage to Rome, but the king's plan was prevented by his death. Bede tells us that Oswiu died on February 15, 670, and twice places his death in that year. Nevertheless, in dating some other events by the king's death, he implies that it took place in 671, and as that date is supported by the earlier evidence of the Northumbrian pedigrees given by Nennius, it must be taken as correct. Oswiu was succeeded by his son Ecgfrith, the husband of the saintly Æthelthryth (St. Etheldreda), and Wilfrith stood high in her favour, and for a time in the favour of the king.

Death of Oswiu, 671.

Wilfrith employed the wealth showered upon him in church-building. His cathedral church at York, the church

[1] Florence of Worcester (i. 239) names Oshere as under-king of the Hwiccas at the time of the subdivision. Oshere may have been the son of Oswald, the brother of Osric, see *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* It has been suggested that Osric was the son of Alchfrith, the friend of Wilfrith, and was one with the Northumbrian king who was slain in 729, see *ibid.* This would imply that Alchfrith, the son of Oswiu, took refuge, when in disgrace with his father, at the Mercian court, with his sister Queen Osthryth, that his sons became rulers of the Hwiccas, and that in 718 Osric obtained the Northumbrian throne. Mr. Plummer (*Bede*, ii. 247, 338) thinks this suggested identification unsound, and his arguments against it seem convincing.

of Paulinus and Oswald, was almost a ruin, for its roof was gone; he made a new roof which he covered with lead, filled the windows with glass, then an unusual luxury, plastered the walls, furnished the altar with ornaments and vessels, and endowed the church with lands. At Ripon, his old monastic home, he built a basilican church of dressed stone, with columns taken apparently from some Roman building, and with side porches or chapels. It was dedicated to St. Peter, and to its consecration came Ecgfrith with his brother, the under-king Ælfwine, and the abbots, princes, and ealdormen of the whole North. The altar was laden with sacred vessels and covered with cloths of purple and gold, and all who came received the Blessed Sacrament. Then Wilfrith stood before the altar and announced the names of all the lands which had been given to his Church, and claimed as its right all the holy places which the British clergy had deserted when they fled before the sword of the English. After this, he made a great feast for the king and all the people, such as our forefathers loved, which lasted for three days and three nights. For Ripon he caused to be written a copy of the Four Gospels in letters of gold, on purple vellum, and placed it in a case of gold studded with jewels. All these things Eddi saw, for he had become one of the monks of Ripon; and of them all there still remains part of the crypt of Wilfrith's church. At Hexham, too, he built a church, the like of which, men said, was not to be seen on this side of the Alps; it had a vaulted crypt, rows of columns, and many porches. He was diligent in his episcopal duties, and, while he kept great state, lived himself almost as an ascetic. He was widely popular, and many nobles sent their sons to him to be educated, some of his pupils becoming churchmen, and others entering the king's service.

Wilfrith at York.

Meanwhile Benedict Biscop built a monastery at Wearmouth in 674, and in 680 another at Jarrow. Of both these houses, which were under the rule of St. Benedict, we shall hear later. At Lindisfarne Eata seems to have found it difficult to bring the monks to desert the traditions of the Scots, for he sent for Cuthbert from Melrose, and appointed him prior that he might teach them a better rule of life. Cuthbert had to meet with

Cuthbert, Prior of Lindisfarne.

strong opposition, which he overcame by gentleness of temper and firmness in persisting in his requirements, so that at last, even in that stronghold of Celtic customs, the monks adopted a rule more or less like that of the Roman monasteries. While stern towards evil-doers, Cuthbert was loving to all true penitents, and brought them to holiness of life by tender exhortations. He continued, and constantly increased, the ascetic practices which he had carried on at Melrose, and spent night after night in prayer and the recitation of the psalter. After a time his passion for asceticism grew so strong that he retired to a lonely place near the monastery, and in 676 to Farne Island, where he lived as a hermit. He built himself a rude circular hut sunk so deeply in the ground that nothing, save the sky, could be seen from it; it had two chambers, one of which was an oratory, a single window, and a cistern or well in which the spring-water was believed to be miraculously kept at the same level; it neither shrank nor flooded the floor. Another larger hut was built near the landing-place for those who came from the monastery, or elsewhere, to see him.

At first Cuthbert would receive his visitors and talk with them. One Christmas Day, for example, some of the Lindisfarne monks persuaded him to spend the day with them in the guests' hut. Again and again, he broke in on their cheerful talk with solemn warnings that they should be watchful against a day of trouble. When they returned to the monastery, they found one of the brethren dead of the plague, and during nearly the whole of a year the plague remained in their house, and carried off the larger number of the monks. In time, Cuthbert's desire for loneliness increased; he would no longer go forth to meet those who came to visit him, and would only sometimes give them his blessing from the window of his hut. Sad it surely is, to think how the stalwart youth, the unwearying teacher of the ignorant and comforter of the sorrowful, the capable monastic ruler sank into a solitary ascetic, with shattered nerves and wasted frame. On the other hand, it must be remembered that the people of his own time saw in Cuthbert a signal example of how love for Christ could make a man count all things well lost for His sake. The evils of

extravagance in asceticism were not then recognised, and his retirement from the duties of life, his morbid devotion, and his self-imposed miseries gave him an extraordinary influence over his contemporaries.

Subdivision of Wilfrith's bishopric.

The bishopric over which Wilfrith presided so magnificently extended over all Deira and Bernicia, and in 678 also over Lindsey. Theodore was anxious to carry out his policy of subdivision in the north, and it may well be supposed that the opposition to his design for the increase of the episcopate, at the Synod of Hertford, was led by Wilfrith's representatives. He found his opportunity when Wilfrith lost the favour of the Northumbrian king. The change in Ecgfrith's feelings towards him arose from the king's domestic affairs. His wife Æthelthryth, believing that virginity was specially acceptable to God, refused to fulfil her wifely duty; Wilfrith encouraged her in her refusal, and when, about 672, she obtained her husband's consent to leave him, gave her the veil at Coldingham. In addition to this personal cause of annoyance with the bishop, the king was jealous of his power, and his second wife Eormenburh, who disliked the friend and adviser of her predecessor, did all she could to increase this feeling. Accordingly, in 678, Ecgfrith invited Theodore to visit him, and the archbishop took advantage of the king's hostility against Wilfrith to carry out his policy in Northumbria. After consulting with some of his suffragans, he decided, in conjunction with the king, and apparently without any communication with Wilfrith, to subdivide his vast bishopric, forming two new dioceses in Deira and Bernicia, and making Lindsey a third diocese,[1] so that Wilfrith would be left with the see of York and a large part of Deira, and would become one out of four bishops, who would each have a share of his former diocese. This was an enormous

[1] In order to treat the dispute with Wilfrith as far as possible without interruption, an arrangement has been adopted which necessitates a note on the changes with respect to the Lindsey bishopric. Lindsey was under Mercian dominion in 675, and was consequently in the bishopric of Sexulf, the Mercian bishop, at the time of his consecration. It was conquered by Ecgfrith of Northumbria in 678, and therefore became part of Wilfrith's bishopric, and was assigned by Theodore to Eadhæd. Shortly afterwards it was conquered by Æthelred of Mercia, Eadhæd resigned, the bishopric was included in the scheme for the subdivision of the Mercian bishopric attributed to the year 679, and Æthelwine was consecrated as Bishop of the Lindiswaras in 680.

diminution of Wilfrith's power and dignity. He appeared before Ecgfrith and Theodore in a Northumbrian gemot, and demanded of them why they had done him this injury. They replied that they laid nothing to his charge, but could not alter their decision. Wilfrith then appealed to the judgment of the pope, and left the Assembly amid the jeers of the king's attendants.

Wilfrith's appeal to the pope against the action of the ecclesiastical and civil authorities of his own country was the first instance of a practice which, in after-years, wrought much harm to the English Church and nation, though some good also to the Church. The right of the Bishop of Rome to interfere between a bishop and his metropolitan in matters of jurisdiction was not universally acknowledged. In 426 the synods of the African Church had withstood a decision of Pope Zosimus restoring an excommunicated priest; and, relying on a decree of the Council of Nicæa, had declared that bishops and clergy should be judged by their own metropolitans. Again, in 444, St. Hilary, Archbishop of Arles, had boldly protested against the action of Leo the Great in entertaining an appeal from his jurisdiction in the matter of a Bishop of Vesoul, whereupon Leo obtained a rescript from the Emperor Valentinian III. supporting the pope's claim to universal jurisdiction. Since those days, however, the authority of the Roman see had greatly increased in the West, and Wilfrith, owing to the part that he had taken in controversy with the Scots, was naturally inclined to rely upon it. Englishmen generally, whether clerical or lay, seem to have been otherwise minded, for while they regarded the Roman see with affectionate reverence, they disliked foreign interference. Nor was Theodore out of sympathy with them. As an eastern monk he had been comparatively little under papal influence, and as an archbishop he naturally held to the side of metropolitan authority. Wilfrith, however, is not to be blamed for seeking help from Rome. We must not think of him as an advocate of papal interference in the affairs of the English Church generally, such as was attempted with more or less success by the mediæval popes; he had been treated unfairly by the king and the archbishop, all his fellow-bishops were under Theo-

His appeal.

dore's power, and he had no hope of redress except from Rome, the seat of justice and law. When he left England to prosecute his appeal, Theodore treated his departure as a resignation of his see; he consecrated, without the assistance of any other bishop, three new bishops at York, and divided Wilfrith's bishopric between them. Bosa, one of Hilda's disciples, he consecrated for Deira with his see at York, in Wilfrith's own church; Eata, the Abbot of Lindisfarne, he consecrated as Bishop of the Bernicians, with leave to place his see either at Lindisfarne or Hexham; and Eadhæd was consecrated to Lindsey, but his diocese was shortly afterwards conquered by the Mercians. Eadhæd consequently retired to the monastery of Ripon, and Lindsey became a Mercian diocese. Before leaving Northumbria, Theodore dedicated the church which Finan had built at Lindisfarne to St. Peter, and thus in the headquarters of the Scots' mission marked the triumph of Rome over Iona.

Ecgfrith was anxious to prevent Wilfrith from carrying his appeal to Rome, and, believing that he would land at Quentavic (Etaples), arranged that Ebroin should send men to lie in wait for him. This Ebroin was ready to do, for he had a grudge against Wilfrith, who, in the days of his power, had helped his enemy Dagobert II. of Austrasia to return from exile in Ireland, and had furnished him with means to gain the kingdom of his father Sigebert. By mistake Ebroin's men caught Winfrith, the deposed Bishop of the Mercians, who had, unluckily for him, left his monastery at Barrow to visit Gaul; they stript him of all that he had and slew some of his company. Wilfrith did not fall into their hands, for his ship was driven out of its course by a tempest, so he escaped them and landed in Friesland, then a heathen country, inhabited by a people near akin to the English. Anxious as Wilfrith must have been to prosecute his appeal, he was even more anxious for the salvation of these Frisians; he obtained leave from their king Adelgis to preach the Gospel to them, and baptized many of all ranks, thus laying the foundation of a mission which was afterwards nobly carried on by his fellow-countrymen. Ebroin soon found out where he was, and sent messengers to Adelgis promising with an oath to give him a sack full of gold pieces if he would either deliver

His journey.

Wilfrith up to him alive, or send him his head. The king was feasting in his hall with Wilfrith and his party and all his nobles, when the messengers came to him, and he bade the men read Ebroin's letter in the presence of them all. Now a fire was burning before him. So when he had heard the letter read, he took it in his hands, and tore it up and cast it into the fire, saying, "Go tell your lord that this is my answer. May the Maker of all things rend, destroy, and utterly consume the kingdom and life of him who perjures himself to his God, and is false to the covenant which he has made." The messengers departed with shame, and Wilfrith tarried with the king all that winter. In the spring of 679 he went to the court of Dagobert, who was reigning at Metz. Dagobert was not unmindful of the help which he had received from him, and offered him the bishopric of Strasburg, and when he refused it, sent him on his way with many gifts and with a Frankish bishop as his guide. Wilfrith was entertained at Pavia by the Lombard king, Perctarit, who, one day, told him that messengers had come to him from England offering him a large sum if he would betray him, but that he remembered how when he himself was an exile, the King of the Huns had refused to betray him to his enemies, and that he had rejected the offer. So Wilfrith at last reached Rome in safety.

A council is said to have been held by Pope Agatho in October to heal dissensions between Theodore and the English bishops. No mention of Wilfrith occurs in the report of it, but it is possible that his wrongs may have been known at Rome before his arrival, and Winfrith's deposition may also have caused some discussion there. This council is said to have decreed that the English episcopate should consist of twelve bishops inclusive of the archbishop, that Theodore should be called upon to hold a national council, and that John, the Pope's precentor and abbot of St. Martin's at Rome, should be sent to him with the decrees of Pope Martin's Lateran Council of 649, which condemned the monothelite heresy. But there are such serious difficulties connected with the report of this council, and the evidence for it is so unsatisfactory, that it is perhaps safe to reject it altogether. A council, however, was certainly held at Rome before the end of 679 to decide on Wilfrith's

Wilfrith's cause.

appeal. Theodore was represented by a monk named Coenwald, and Wilfrith appeared in person. After a committee which had been appointed to make a preliminary inquiry into the case, had made its report, Wilfrith was admitted into the council-chamber and his petition was read. The pope and the council determined that he should be restored to his bishopric, that the intruding bishops should be removed, and that he should, with the advice of a council, appoint others to be his coadjutors who should be consecrated by the archbishop. This decision, while implicitly condemning the action of Theodore, provided that his desire for an increase in the Northumbrian episcopate should be carried out in a regular manner. At another council held by Agatho on March 27, 680, against the monothelite heresy, Wilfrith was present as Bishop of York, and signed as speaking for the faith of the English, Britons, Scots, and Picts. Theodore was expected, but did not appear. Wilfrith returned to England in triumph, bringing with him sundry relics, and the pope's bulls to exhibit to Ecgfrith and Theodore. When, however, he showed them to Ecgfrith, he was told that he had bought them, and the king and his councillors, with, it is said, the consent of the three intruding bishops, shut him up in prison, and there kept him for nine months. His special enemy, the queen, appropriated his reliquary, which she evidently thought contained charms; for she hung it in her bedroom, and took it out with her in her carriage when she went driving. Theodore does not seem to have made any effort on his behalf.

Meanwhile an envoy from the pope had come to England. Benedict Biscop, during a fourth visit which he made to Rome, in order to obtain various things for his monastery at Wearmouth, obtained the pope's leave to take back with him John the precentor, that he might instruct the Wearmouth monks in ritual and music. Agatho seized the opportunity of eliciting from the English Church a declaration of its orthodoxy, with special reference to the monothelite question, and before John left Rome in 679, bade him do this on his behalf, and take with him for that purpose the canons of the Lateran Council of 649. On coming to England, John taught the course of the services observed at

Council of Hatfield, 680.

St. Peter's not only to the Wearmouth monks, but to all who came to learn of him from other monasteries. Nor did he neglect the other part of the business on which the pope had sent him, for, in obedience to the pope's desire, Theodore held a second synod of the bishops of the Church at Heathfield, or Hatfield, in our Hertfordshire, on September 17, 680, to which other learned men were also called, as at the synod of Hertford. John was present at this synod, and produced the canons of the Lateran Council. The synod made a solemn profession of its orthodox faith in the Incarnation and the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity, adopting the words of the Lateran canons in its definitions. It declared its acceptance of the five Œcumenical Councils, and of the Lateran Council, and ended its acts with an ascription of glory to God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost "proceeding ineffably from the Father and the Son," thus early acknowledging the double procession of the Holy Ghost as a fundamental truth of the Catholic Faith. A copy of the acts of the synod was given to John to take to the pope. While on his journey homewards he died in Gaul, and was buried in St. Martin's at Tours, the church of the patron of his Roman abbey. Nevertheless Agatho received the acts of the council, and was gladdened by their witness to the faith of the English Church. Nothing appears to have been said about Wilfrith at the synod. John had probably left Rome before his cause was decided, and in any case had no instructions on the matter. Nor did Theodore or any of his suffragans, so far as is known, enter on the subject. It is possible that Wilfrith had not returned to England by the date of the synod; if he was in England, he was in a Northumbrian prison.

AUTHORITIES.—The authorities for this chapter are mainly Bede's *Hist. Eccles.* ed. Plummer, and *Vita Cudberti*, Engl. Hist. Soc., and Eddi's *Vita Wilfridi* ap. *Historians of York*, i., Rolls ser. For the establishment of the Mercian sees consult Florence of Worcester, Engl. Hist. Soc., and the ancient Lists of Bishops appended to Florence's *Chronicle* both in Engl. Hist. Soc.'s edition at the end of vol. i., and in *Monumenta Hist. Brit.*; on this matter see Bp. Stubbs's notes in *Councils and Eccl. Docs.* iii., which also contains much else that is valuable, specially on the councils at Rome 679-680. The old opinion that Clovesho is to be identified with Cliffe-at-Hoo, in Kent, has in modern days again been advanced by T. Kerslake in a paper in which he also

argues against the now generally received identification of other places of note in our ecclesiastical history, viz. of Chealcythe with Chelsea, Heru·ford with Hertford, Heathfeld with Hatfield, and Acle with Ockley, in Surrey, and places them all in the same district as Cliffe-at-Hoo. His argument is supported by the supremacy of Mercia over Kent in the eighth century, and gathers weight from the ecclesiastical supremacy of Canterbury, but it is scarcely convincing. See his *Vestiges of the Supremacy of Mercia*, ap. *Bristol and Glouc. Archæol. Soc.'s Transactions*, iii., Bristol, 1878. William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum*, Rolls ser., should also be consulted. Canon Bright's *Early English Church History* still continues useful, and Bp. Stubbs's art. "Theodore of Tarsus" in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* On the rights of bishops and metropolitans in primitive times, see Bingham, *Works*, vol. i. bk. ii. c. 16, ed. 1743. A leaden *bulla*, or seal of a bull, with the name of "Boniface archdeacon," of Rome, found near Whitby, is believed to have belonged to a bull brought to England by Wilfrith; see Bp. Browne, *Theodore and Wilfrith*, S.P.C.K.

CHAPTER IX

WILFRITH

WILFRITH'S first place of imprisonment was at "Bromnis," which cannot now be identified. There the wife of Osfrith the king's reeve, or officer, who kept him, fell dangerously ill; Osfrith called his prisoner to her, and Wilfrith prayed over her, and sprinkled her with holy water. She recovered, and Osfrith, believing that a miracle had been wrought, sent messengers to the king saying that he would no longer share in the persecution of an innocent man by acting as Wilfrith's gaoler. Ecgfrith was wroth, and caused Wilfrith to be transferred to stricter custody in his fortress at Dunbar, overlooking the Northern sea. His friends did not forget him in his solitary prison. During a visit that Ecgfrith and his queen paid to the king's aunt Æbbe, the Abbess of Coldingham, near the promontory which, as St. Abb's Head, preserves the memory of the saintly abbess, the queen was suddenly seized with sickness. Æbbe told the king that this sickness was sent as a punishment for his ill treatment of the bishop. On this Ecgfrith ordered that Wilfrith should be released, and the queen recovered. Wilfrith, who regained his liberty in 681, after an imprisonment of nine months, sought shelter in Mercia, but he was unable to stay there, for Æthelred, who had married Ecgfrith's sister Osthryth, was anxious not to offend the Northumbrian king. Nor could he find refuge in Wessex, for the wife of Centwine, who was then king of the West Saxons, was the sister of his enemy Eormenburh.

Wilfrith's release.

Finding no place of rest among the Christian English, Wilfrith betook himself to the heathen South Saxons, some of

whom had, eleven years before, sought to slay him and his companions. Their king Æthelwalh and his queen had, as we have seen, been baptized, and there was upon the coast near Bosham, a little monastery, where a Scot named Dicul dwelt with five or six other monks. But the people would not listen to them, and the South Saxons, cut off from external influence by the vast and almost impenetrable forest of Anderida, which stretched from the mouth of the Rother to Privett, still remained heathen and barbarous. Wilfrith was hospitably received by Æthelwalh, and full as ever of missionary zeal, set himself to preach to the people. They were in great trouble, for a three years' drought had been followed by a famine so terrible, that forty or fifty at a time would join hands and cast themselves into the sea to escape by death from the pangs of hunger. They could not fish in the sea; they were perhaps afraid to venture out into deep water, and so only caught eels. Wilfrith had a number of their eel-nets joined together and showed them how they might gather food from the inexhaustible harvest of the sea. In return they listened to his teaching, and as the drought broke up on a day on which he had baptized a large number of new converts, they held that his words must be true, and accepted the Gospel. Æthelwalh gave him the lands of eighty-seven families in the peninsula of Selsey—the island of seals, or of the sea-calf as Bede calls it—his own estate and residence, and Wilfrith baptized all his new tenants. Among them were two hundred and fifty bondsmen and bondswomen, whom he set free on their baptism. He built a monastery, a house for himself and his companions at Selsey, and the church afterwards became the cathedral church of the South Saxon see.

Conversion of the South Saxons.

While dwelling among the South Saxons, Wilfrith befriended an outlawed member of the royal house of Wessex, named Cædwalla. This Cædwalla became powerful, slew Æthelwalh, overran his country, and in 686 became king of the West Saxons. He then completed the subjugation of the South Saxons, and conquered the Isle of Wight together with the Meons district which Æthelwalh had received from Wulfhere at the time of his baptism. The two sons of the under-king of the island were

Conquest and evangelisation of the I. of Wight.

taken at Stoneham on the Itchen, and Cædwalla ordered that they should be slain. Then Cynebert, the abbot of Redbridge, went to the savage king, and prayed that they might not be put to death until they had been baptized. Cædwalla agreed, and the abbot taught the two young men the Gospel and baptized them. Soon after they were baptized, the executioner came to slay them, and they died joyfully, knowing that death would be to them the gateway of eternal life. Cædwalla was mindful of Wilfrith's former kindness, and gave him the fourth part of the island for God's service. Wilfrith set his nephew and clerk Bernwine over his new estate, sending with him a priest named Hiddila to help him in mission work, and so the last English settlement to receive the Gospel was converted through his instrumentality. When Wilfrith was enabled to return to Northumbria, after the death of Ecgfrith, he left his monastery and mission work at Selsey under the charge of one of his companions, a priest named Eappa. Soon afterwards the plague fell upon the South Saxons, and carried off many of the brethren at Selsey. Among those who died of it was a little boy who was being brought up in the monastery. As he lay dying, he had a vision, or dream, on August 5, the anniversary of the battle of Maserfelth, in which the martyred King Oswald appeared to him, accompanied by the Apostles Peter and Paul, and told him that the plague should cease in the house. Such a dream might well have come to a dying child in a monastery of Northumbrians, where the memory of Oswald and Roman ideas would alike be impressed on the lad's mind. The plague ceased in the monastery, and the cult of St. Oswald was established there.

Meanwhile, in 681, Theodore further increased the Northumbrian episcopate by subdividing Eata's Bernician diocese. Eata retained Lindisfarne, but gave up Hexham, to which Theodore consecrated Tunbert abbot of Gilling. He also founded a new bishopric for the country of the Picts held by the English north of the Forth, and consecrated to it Trumwine, who had his see in the monastery of Abercorn. Three years later Theodore deposed Tunbert, it is said, for disobedience; and as Ecgfrith desired that Cuthbert should be made bishop in Tunbert's place, Theodore visited Northumbria and presided

Cuthbert Bp. of Lindisfarne, 685-687.

over an assembly gathered by the king at Twyford on the Alne, at which Cuthbert was elected bishop. Cuthbert, however, would not be prevailed upon to accept consecration, until at last Eata offered to move to Hexham and leave him his beloved Lindisfarne. He was consecrated by Theodore and seven other bishops at York on March 26, 685.

A few weeks later he went to Luel, the present Carlisle, to meet Eormenburh, who was staying there in a monastery ruled by her sister, to await tidings of the king; for Ecgfrith was making war on the Picts. Ecgfrith had shortly before sent an invading army to Ireland, much to the sorrow, and in spite of the remonstrances, of English churchmen, who were not unmindful of what they owed to the Scots. His forces wasted the country, and destroyed churches and monasteries so that the curses of the Irish rose to heaven against him. These curses were not to be without fulfilment. On the day after Cuthbert's arrival at Carlisle, on Saturday May 20, at three in the afternoon, Paga, the reeve of the town, was proudly showing him and his clergy the wall and fountain built by the Romans, but the bishop was lost in thought, and was standing leaning on his staff and looking downwards. Suddenly he raised his head saying, "Perhaps even now the conflict is decided." He would say no more, but went to the queen and bade her set out at dawn on the next day but one, for it was not lawful, he said, to drive on the Lord's Day, and return to the royal city lest the king should have fallen. The next day, when preaching at a neighbouring monastery, he urged the monks to watch and pray that trouble might not find them unprepared. On the morrow one came to Carlisle with the tidings that the Northumbrian army had been destroyed two days before at Nectansmere, by the Sidlaw hills, and that the king had fallen at the self-same hour that Cuthbert was standing by the fountain at Carlisle. After her lord's death, Eormenburh received the veil, and lived at Carlisle as a nun.

With the disaster at Nectansmere ended the greatness of Northumbria. Trumwine lost his diocese, for the Picts regained the territory north of the Forth that Oswiu had taken from them, and as Abercorn, though still within the English border, was now too near the Picts to be a safe residence, he retired to Whitby. A crowd of English from the reconquered

land also fled southwards to escape slavery; many monks found shelter in the monasteries of Cuthbert's diocese, and the bishop provided a new home for a convent of fugitive nuns. Ecgfrith was succeeded by Aldfrith, a natural son of Oswiu by an Irish woman. He had been brought up in some of the islands inhabited by Scottish monks. His half-brother Ecgfrith desired to make him a bishop, in order to exclude him from the succession; he refused, and went into exile, and it is probable that Ecgfrith's invasion of Ireland and his war with the Picts were connected with some movement on his behalf. During his residence with the Scots, he had become well versed in the Scriptures and in learning of all kinds; he was the first scholar-king of the English, and was a lover of books and of good and learned men. Nor was he merely a scholar, for under his wise rule Northumbria, though reduced in size and shorn of glory, recovered from the shock of the disaster at Nectansmere.

For two years Cuthbert exchanged his hermit life for the active duties of a bishop, which he fulfilled with apostolic zeal. He preached often, dwelling chiefly on the duty of Christian love, for his heart was so occupied in ecstatic contemplation of God's love, that love ruled all his words and actions. Nor could he ever celebrate the divine sacrifice without tears which choked his voice from the moment that he uttered the "Sursum corda." As in his earlier days, he worked miracles. One so-called miracle beautifully illustrates his life as bishop. The plague, which had broken out in the North more than twenty years before, was again raging in his diocese, and he went from place to place speaking words of comfort to all. After speaking thus to all the survivors whom he could find in a village called Methilwong, he said to Tidi, his attendant priest, "Is there any one here that has the plague now, to whom I could give my blessing?" Tidi pointed out a woman standing not far off and weeping bitterly; she had already lost one son, and his little brother was lying in her arms swollen with the plague and at the point of death. Cuthbert went to her, and kissed the face of the plague-stricken child and blessed him, bidding the mother be of good cheer for her child should live. The boy recovered, and the mother and her son were both alive when, in after-

His death.

years, Tidi told what he had seen to a monk of Lindisfarne who was writing Cuthbert's life. Towards the end of 686 Cuthbert felt that his end was near, and after Christmas again retired to his hermitage on Farne Island. About February 27, 687, when Herefrith the Abbot of Lindisfarne was visiting him he was ill. Rough weather came on, and no one was able to go to him again for five days. He was then found in extreme physical wretchedness, sitting in the little guest-house waiting for help. From that time he was not again left alone. In his last words to the monks he bade them live in love and catholic unity, and charged them that if ever they were forced to leave their island-home they should carry his bones with them and lay them in whatever place they settled, a command which was afterwards fulfilled. Then having received the Blessed Eucharist from Herefrith, he raised his hands and eyes to heaven and fell asleep on March 20. He was buried in a stone coffin in the church of Lindisfarne. Eleven years later his body was translated for the purpose of devotion, and those who saw it believed that it was incorrupt. Of all the saints of the North no other has been regarded with deeper or more general veneration. His fame, though doubtless increased by the later wanderings of his body and the belief in its incorruptibility, was pre-eminent in his lifetime. While others were not inferior to him in true holiness, and many probably did more for their fellowmen, few, if any, carried the practice of asceticism, then so highly esteemed, to greater lengths. And he had a special claim on the admiration of his contemporaries, for each proof of his saintliness added lustre to the settlement of 664; he was himself a convert to the Roman ritual, and he brought the house of Aidan and his successors into the Catholic unity.

The death of Ecgfrith paved the way for Wilfrith's return to Northumbria. Theodore, who felt the infirmity of age increasing upon him, desired to be reconciled to him, and invited him to meet him in London in the presence of Bishop Earconwald. According to his disciple Eddi, he acknowledged to Wilfrith that he had done him wrong, and expressed an earnest hope that he would succeed him as archbishop. While this is doubtless an exaggeration, he was certainly sorry for Wilfrith's sufferings, and highly

Wilfrith's partial restoration.

esteemed him for his work's sake among the heathen. He wrote to Aldfrith urging him, for the sake of Ecgfrith's soul, to be reconciled to Wilfrith, and to a like effect to Ælflæd, the daughter of Oswiu, who had succeeded Hilda as Abbess of Whitby in 680, and also wrote to his much-loved friend Æthelred begging him to protect the bishop. Accordingly, in 686, Aldfrith restored Wilfrith, not indeed to his former vast diocese, but only to the bishopric of York, which Bosa surrendered to him, and to the monastery of Ripon, surrendered to him by Eadhæd. He also had charge of the bishopric of Hexham, vacant by the death of Eata in October 686, until the consecration of John of Beverley in the following year, and of Lindisfarne from the death of Cuthbert until the consecration of his successor Eadbert in the same year.

Theodore, in writing to Æthelred of Mercia, begged the king to come to him, "that my eyes may behold thy pleasant face and my soul bless thee before I die." He was spared a few years longer. He died at the age of eighty-eight on September 19, 690, and was buried inside the church of St. Peter and St. Paul, for the south porch was then full. That he was not regarded as a saint, and that no miracles are attributed to him, may indicate that his piety, though fully acknowledged, was not of an ascetic kind. His work proves him to have been bold in conception and prudent in action, and as its success implies the co-operation of kings and their gemots, he must have had great personal influence. In its prosecution he did some things which seem arbitrary. If he deprived Winfrith and Tunbert without the sanction of a synod, he stretched his metropolitical authority beyond the limits of canonical restrictions, while in his conduct towards Wilfrith he was certainly harsh and hasty. Yet excuse for him may be found in his desire to do what was necessary for the well-being of the Church, and in the difficulties which he had to encounter. Apart from his public action, his character, so far as it may be gathered from his kindness to Ceadda and his letter to Æthelred, appears to have been gentle and affectionate. He was great alike as a scholar, a teacher, a ruler, and a reformer. It would not be easy to overestimate the benefits which he conferred on the Church. He secured its unity, and gave it

Death of Abp. Theodore, 690.

organisation, the means of self-legislation, discipline, the idea of obedience to lawfully constituted ecclesiastical authority, and a culture which was not wholly lost until the period of the Danish invasions. Though he was sent to us from Rome and was loyal to the Roman see, he showed his sympathy with the national spirit of the English Church in the matter of the Northumbrian dioceses. Bede sums up the immediate effect of his rule by saying that during his episcopate the English Church obtained more spiritual profit than it could ever gain before. Nor did his work perish, its fruits are to be discerned in the character and constitution of the Church of England at all times to the present day.

His Penitential.

Theodore's disciplinary work is illustrated by the Penitential which bears his name, and was compiled with his sanction by a disciple of the Northumbrian scholars, from answers which he made to questions on points of discipline and order. The Church has from the time of St. Paul claimed the right to punish the sins of its members by penances, by exclusion from public worship, abstinence, and the like, and Penitentials contain lists of sins with their appropriate penances, derived from, and embodying, the sentences of bishops and doctors of the Church. They were private compilations, each owing its authority to the personal weight of the compiler. As they were specially needful when the Church was in conflict with the gross vices of heathenism, they deal for the most part with revolting subjects, though more than once in Theodore's Penitential, amid the dry enumeration of sins and penances, appear evidences of his lofty soul and spirituality of mind. Theodore has erroneously been credited with the creation of the parochial system, which, in truth, had no creator. We have seen how gradually churches were built and priests ordained for them. About Theodore's time it was not an uncommon thing that a great man should build a church on his estate, and have a priest ordained to serve it, and then his township, or group of townships, became the parish of the priest, or parson (*persona ecclesiæ*), of the church. Theodore's Penitential implies the existence of local divisions each under the spiritual charge of its own priest, though many years passed before the parochial system was perfected throughout the whole country.

The consecration of a tenth to God's service was a generally acknowledged Christian duty, and Theodore speaks of the payment of tithe as a matter of course, though it was not then enforced by ecclesiastical penalties. Tithe, however, was not yet the exclusive right of the clergy; a discretion was left to the payer as to its destination, and what was given to the Church was, if not appropriated to some special purpose by the payer, ordinarily dispensed by the bishop, who divided it among the church, the clergy, and the poor. The parochial clergy seem to have been maintained by offerings, and probably to a far larger extent, by lands that were granted to their churches.

Theodore was succeeded at Canterbury by Bertwald, a monk of Reculver. Owing, perhaps, to the troubles of Kent, which was then partly under East Saxon kings ruling in dependence on the Mercians, and was, moreover, threatened by the West Saxons, Bertwald was not elected until July 1, 692. He went abroad for consecration, thinking, we may suppose, that by so doing he would gain greater weight at home, and was consecrated on June 29, 693, by Godwin, Archbishop of Lyons.

Bertwald, Abp. of Cant., 693-731.

Wilfrith could not resign himself to his altered position. Five years after his restoration, in 691, Aldfrith demanded that he should acknowledge the validity of Theodore's decree for the subdivision of the Northumbrian diocese, and further designed to take Ripon from him, and make it the see of a new bishopric. Wilfrith resisted his demands, was again driven from York, and was received by Æthelred of Mercia, who committed to him the then vacant bishopric of Leicester, where he dwelt for eleven years. He sent an appeal to Pope Sergius, and probably in consequence of some papal remonstrance, Aldfrith in 702 summoned a council of the whole Church at Edwinspath or Estrefeld, probably Austerfield in the West Riding. Thither came Bertwald and nearly all his suffragans, and Wilfrith was summoned, and attended to plead his cause. He was required to give his assent to the decrees of Theodore, and answered that he would do so "according to the rule of the canons." The reservation rendered his assent nugatory, for it meant that he would not surrender his claim which had been approved by

Wilfrith again in exile.

Rome. He reproached his opponents with having withstood the Apostolic see for two-and-twenty years, and with preferring the decrees of Theodore to those of Popes Agatho, Benedict, and Sergius. It is said that the king and the archbishop were for taking everything from him, but after much debate it was decided that he should keep his monastery of Ripon, if he would promise to stay there quietly, and not again act as a bishop. This was bidding him pronounce his own deprivation, and he replied to this monstrous sentence in loud and indignant tones. "Was it not I," he said, "who rooted out the evil practices of the Scots? Was it not I who taught this people the Roman responses and antiphons? Was it not I who was the first to introduce into this northern land the rule of St. Benedict? And shall I, after a life of well-nigh forty years as a bishop, though innocent, condemn myself?" He appealed to the Apostolic see; let his opponents meet him there. Both king and archbishop declared that he had made his offence worse by choosing to be judged by Romans rather than by them. He returned to Mercia, and probably the next year set out for Rome accompanied by Acca, a learned and holy priest, afterwards Bishop of Hexham. His appeal increased the bitter feelings of his opponents, and it is said that they treated his party as excommunicate, and would throw away as polluted, food which one of them had blessed with the sign of the cross. All in Wilfrith's monasteries fasted and prayed for their beloved father, and many in other parts sorrowed for him. Among them was Ealdhelm, or Aldhelm, the famous abbot of Malmesbury, who wrote to Wilfrith's clergy before he left exhorting them to stand by their bishop.

In spite of his seventy years Wilfrith journeyed to Rome on foot. On his way he visited Willibrord, Archbishop of Utrecht, one of his former disciples, who had followed in his footsteps by carrying the Gospel to the Frisians. He arrived at Rome in 704, and when his opponent's envoys had also come, John VI. held a council on his case. He was accused of disobedience to Bertwald, was declared innocent, and after a committee had held seventy sessions on the matter, the decree of Agatho in his favour was confirmed. The pope wrote to the kings Aldfrith and Æthelred that Archbishop Bertwald was to hold a synod and

The hearing at Rome, 704.

endeavour to arrive at a settlement with Wilfrith, and that if he failed, both parties were to appear at Rome and submit to the judgment of a larger council. This letter seems to show that the pope was anxious not to irritate English feeling, and if possible to have the matter arranged in England. On his way home, in 705, Wilfrith fell sick and was carried insensible into Meaux. When he recovered consciousness he told Acca that the archangel Michael had appeared to him, and had told him that owing to the intercession of the Blessed Virgin he would be spared four years longer, and that he was to build a church in her honour, which hitherto he had neglected to do. On landing in England he found Bertwald well disposed towards him. He went into Mercia and met Æthelred, who had resigned his crown. Æthelred's wife, Osthryth, the pious niece of Oswald, had been slain by some Mercian nobles, and the king had assumed the tonsure and become abbot of Bardney, which he and his wife had enriched if not founded. He caused his successor Cenred to promise to help Wilfrith. Aldfrith, however, refused to alter his decision; he died in 705, and, after another king had reigned for two months, was succeeded by his son Osred, a child of eight years old.

A strong feeling was growing up in Northumbria in favour of ceasing to oppose the papal decrees, which was increased by the belief that Aldfrith on his deathbed repented of his conduct towards Wilfrith, and solemnly charged his successor to be reconciled to him. Accordingly, as soon as Osred came to the throne a council was held on the banks of the Nidd, under the presidency of the boy-king, to settle Wilfrith's case. Unlike the council at Estrefeld, this was a purely Northumbrian gathering. Archbishop Bertwald took the leading part in it, but he was of course as much the head of the Church in Northumbria as he was in Kent. The three Northumbrian bishops—Bosa of York, John called "of Beverley," Bishop of Hexham, and Eadfrith, who had succeeded Eadbert at Lindisfarne—were present at the council, together with all the abbots of the district, and Ælflæd, King Oswiu's daughter, the Abbess of Whitby, "the comfort and peacemaker of the kingdom." With the king were all his nobles, who took part in the proceedings equally with the churchmen.

The Council on the Nidd, 705.

Wilfrith attended in person. The archbishop, who showed an earnest desire for peace, opened the proceedings with prayer, and then read the letter of Pope John. Then the head ealdorman of the kingdom said that he and others would like to hear what the pope said, if the archbishop would translate the letter for them. Bertwald replied that he would give them the sense of it, for, he added, it was long and obscure. When he had done so, the Northumbrian bishops urged that it would be a mistake to act against the decisions of the kings Ecgfrith and Aldfrith. On this Ælflæd addressed the assembly, saying that Aldfrith had on his deathbed declared in her presence that if he lived he would obey the papal decrees, and that if he died, those who heard him were, for the good of his soul, to bid his son do so. The head ealdorman declared that the king and his nobles had decided to act in accordance with her words. The arrangements necessary for carrying out this decision implied episcopal changes and considerations of a spiritual nature. On these the archbishop and bishops and the abbess Ælflæd conferred together apart, and apparently presented their scheme to the king and his nobles, by whom it was discussed and confirmed. It was to some extent a compromise. There was to be a general reconciliation; Wilfrith was to have the monastery and the bishopric of Hexham, the plan of making Ripon an episcopal see was definitely abandoned, and the monastery was secured to him. Soon after the council, the see of York was vacated by the death of Bosa. In spite of the professed desire of the Northumbrian nobles to obey the papal decrees, it was not conferred on Wilfrith; John of Hexham was translated to York, and Wilfrith took his see in accordance with the arrangements made at the council. His appeals to Rome ended in the loss of the dignified position, which had been left to him by Theodore, of bishop of the rich and ancient church of York.

Death of Wilfrith, 709.

Early in the spring of 708 he was again attacked by the sickness from which he had suffered at Meaux on his return from his last journey to Rome. About a year and a half later he entrusted certain of the senior monks at Ripon with the disposal of his wealth after his

death. He divided it into four parts, the largest of which he assigned to the churches of St. Mary and St. Paul at Rome, and left the other three to the poor, to the provosts or priors of his two churches at Hexham and Ripon to be used for the benefit of the monasteries, and to those companions of his exile for whom he had not already provided. He then bade them have the bell of the monastery rung to call together all his "family" at Ripon into their chapter-house. He told them that Ceolred of Mercia had sent for him to arrange some matters connected with the monasteries in Mercia which had been founded by him, and were dependent on him and his "family," much in the same way as the monasteries of the province of Iona were dependent on the successors of Columba and the monks of Iona. He commanded them, in case he did not return, to accept as their abbot him whom his five special counsellors, two abbots, two priests, and a master, probably a monastic lecturer or teacher, should present to them. Exercising a power similar to that of the abbots of Iona, he had already told the five that his nephew Tatbert, a priest, and one of their number, whom he appointed provost of the house during his absence, was to succeed him at his death. He then gave his family his blessing and bade them farewell. He was again seized with illness at his monastery at Oundle, in the present Northamptonshire, and died there as the monks who were praying for him in their choir sang the words, "Send forth thy breath and they shall be created" (Ps. civ. 30). Wilfrith died on a Thursday, probably October 3, 709, in his seventy-sixth year, after having been a bishop for forty-five years. He was buried in his church at Ripon.

His intellect was brilliant and his genius constructive; the splendid churches which he built in the Roman or basilican style are typical of his work in ecclesiastical organisation, for in place of the usages of the Scots, in the overthrow of which he took so large a part, he built up the Roman system, securing the acceptance of its order and ritual, and being the chief apostle of the Benedictine rule. He clung perhaps too tightly to power and wealth, but he used them in God's service, and though he refused to sacrifice them when his surrender of them would have been useful to the Church, his refusal may be excused by the unfair treatment he received.

While English churchmen may regret his appeals to Rome, he must not be blamed for seeking justice at the only tribunal at which he could hope to obtain it. He was courageous and firm of purpose, never daunted by danger or persecution. His temper was overbearing, and his behaviour to his opponents unconciliatory. Yet he was lovable, for his monks and clergy were faithful to him in his troubles, and regarded him with filial affection, and his heart was tender, for we read that he wept when a mason's lad fell from the roof of Hexham church. He was a holy as well as a magnificent prelate, and his missionary work, performed in the midst of anxiety and privation, entitles him to a high place among the Fathers of the English Church.

In Wessex, Wilfrith's ally Cædwalla, though nominally a Christian, remained unbaptized until 689. He resigned his kingdom in 688, and, first of all English kings, made a pilgrimage to Rome. At Eastertide, 689, he was baptized by the name of Peter by Pope Sergius, who stood godfather to him. He died a few days later while still wearing the white garments which the newly baptized wore for a week after their baptism, and the linen fillet which preserved the chrism or unction still on his forehead, and was buried in St. Peter's church. He was succeeded by Ine, a conqueror and a lawgiver, during whose reign the Church in Wessex made great progress. As the introduction of civilisation and learning by the Roman mission had been followed in Kent by the publication of written laws, so their advance was followed by the publication of two fresh codes, drawn up under the influence of churchmen, one in Kent by King Wihtred, and the other in Wessex by Ine. Wihtred's code dealt exclusively with ecclesiastical matters, and was put forth by the advice of Archbishop Bertwald, Bishop Gebmund of Rochester, and the rest of the witan of the kingdom, and with the assent of all present at the witenagemot. It begins with a declaration that the Church should be free in jurisdiction and revenue, and that a breach of its peace, the protection which it was entitled to afford, should be punished as heavily as a like offence against the king. It contains decrees against immorality, providing that the offender, if a native, should be punished by being cut off from communion with the Church; against

Ine, King of the West Saxons, 688-725.

heathen practices, and against working on Sunday, and ordains that evil and slothful priests should be suspended and reserved for the judgment of their bishop. A high position is assigned to churchmen in judicial proceedings; the word of a bishop was to be as the word of the king, no oath was to avail against it, and a priest or deacon might clear himself of a charge by his own oath, without bringing any compurgators, or men to join in swearing to his innocence. The laws of Ine, the first written laws of the West Saxons, were made with the counsel of Hædde, "my bishop," and Earconwald, whom the king is also made to call "my bishop," for Earconwald had much influence in Surrey which was part of Ine's dominions. The ealdorman and witan of the kingdom, together with a great gathering of God's servants, joined in enacting these laws. They are partly ecclesiastical and partly civil. They provide penalties for the neglect to have a child baptized within thirty days after its birth, for working on Sundays, and for the non-payment of church scot at Martinmas. In the civil laws may be found illustrations of the change which Christianity had brought about in the character of the conquest, for Ine's British, or "Welsh," subjects are treated as law-worthy, and were evidently living at peace side by side with their conquerors.

A large British element no doubt existed in the population of Ine's kingdom generally, and must have been specially strong in the westerly, or latest conquered, districts. The western border of his kingdom seems in its southern part to have been pushed so far into the British kingdom of Dyfnaint as to include Crediton, the traditionary birthplace of the English Winfrith, or St. Boniface, of whom we shall hear later, and Exeter, where he was educated. Exeter was doubtless at that time, as it remained until the tenth century, a city of two peoples—the Britons dwelling in the northern part, as has been inferred from such dedications as St. Petrock's and St. Keryan's, the Saxons in the southern part. More to the north, in Somerset, the progress of the conquest was slower, yet as early as Cenwalh's time the Isle of Avalon had passed into English hands, and received its English name of Glastonbury. Legends, sacred and profane, connect the island and its monastery with Joseph of

Glastonbury.

Arimathea, King Arthur, and other famous names, and though the early history of the house has been involved in so many myths that it is impossible to say what amount of truth, if any, underlies the fables, it is fairly certain that Glastonbury has a special interest for us as one of the few links between the British and the English Churches. The monastery certainly existed in the time of Ine, and the received, though by no means well-established, story is that it had been a British sanctuary, that the conquerors found there a little church originally made of wattle, that they preserved it, and that it stood for centuries. As it, or its successors, outlived successive generations, it became regarded with special respect, and was fabled to have been made by no earthly hands. Ine is said to have built a church of stone to the east of it, and to have endowed the monastery, which was destined to attain an historical renown as the home of the greatest of our early archbishops of English race, and to become one of the richest monasteries of England.

Ine favoured the foundation of monasteries. One which he had at least a hand in founding, at Abingdon, on the Thames, became, after a long period of decay, a seat of learning and spiritual life in the tenth century. He seems to have encouraged synodical action, and he made friends with good and learned men, and helped them in their work. Chief among these was Ealdhelm, or St. Aldhelm, a member of the royal house, who had been taught by an Irish scholar named Maelduib or Mailduf, the only Scot of whom we hear as settled in the West Saxon kingdom, at a place called after him, and known as Malmesbury in our Wiltshire. Thence Ealdhelm went to Canterbury, where he studied under Hadrian, and became a notable scholar. He returned to Malmesbury, became abbot of the monastery which had begun to be formed under Maelduib, made it a school after the pattern of St. Augustine's at Canterbury, and brought Wessex to the forefront in learning. Of this side of his work more must be said hereafter. He also built churches and monasteries at Malmesbury, Bruton, Frome, and elsewhere. One of them, the "little church" (*ecclesiola*), as it is called in his Life, dedicated to St. Laurence at Bradford-on-Avon, is believed to be the little church still standing there and lately rescued

Ealdhelm, Abbot of Malmesbury.

from desecration. While he was the first Englishman who became a distinguished classical scholar, he was also skilled in vernacular poetry, and would sing English poems of his own composition. Some of his poems were popular in the time of King Alfred, who is reported to have told a story about them illustrative of Ealdhelm's diligence in seeking the spiritual welfare of others. Finding that the country people of Wessex were unwilling to stay in church for the sermon, and were in the habit of going off homewards as soon as the singing was over, he used to waylay them as they crossed a bridge, and sing to them like a professional minstrel, gradually bringing into his song sacred subjects. And so he awoke their interest in the Scriptures, and made them willing to listen to his teaching. His biographers, both of the twelfth century, declare that he visited Rome, but as none of his extant writings refer to such a visit, their assertion, though not improbable, is of doubtful authority, specially as they connect the visit with a ridiculous fable.

Ealdhelm took a prominent part in urging the Britons to adopt the Roman Easter. In 704, Adamnan, abbot of Iona, persuaded the Northern Irish to follow the example of their fellow-countrymen in the South, and accept the Roman computation, and a few years later the monks of Iona, who had refused to follow their abbot, yielded to the persuasion of Ecgbert, an Englishman. Ecgbert had studied in Ireland in company with Ceadda; he was a man of great holiness and influence, had been consecrated as a bishop in Ireland, and was deeply interested in mission work. The Britons, however, clung to their own usages, which were precious to them as signs of their national life, and their priests beyond the Severn still, as of old, regarded English churchmen as excommunicate. The schism was of serious importance in Wessex, where the British element had grown as the kingdom extended westwards. In 705 the matter was considered in a synod of the West Saxon clergy, and Ealdhelm, who was then a priest, was requested to urge the Britons of the West to conform to Catholic practice. Accordingly he wrote a letter to Geraint, the King of Dyfnaint, and his bishops, on the tonsure and the Easter question. It was widely read, and was successful in persuading the Britons who

His letter to Geraint.

were subject to the West Saxons to adopt the Roman usages. The Britons who preserved their independence seem to have disregarded his remonstrances; those beyond the Severn did not yield until 809, and another century passed before their example was followed by the Britons of the extreme West.

Soon after writing this letter to Geraint, Ealdhelm was made a bishop. Of the vast bishoprics which Theodore found on his arrival in England, that of the West Saxons was the only one which he did not subdivide. The reason that he left it as it was, may probably be found in the civil history of Wessex, which was in an unsettled state for some years after the death of Cenwalh in, or about, 672. For a document purporting to be a decree of Theodore that the bishopric should remain undivided so long as Hædde lived is probably spurious. As Hædde was the archbishop's personal friend, Theodore would scarcely have found him opposed to a measure which he thought necessary for the good of the Church, and Theodore was certainly not the man to allow any personal feelings to stay his hand in such a matter. The delay must have arisen from some other cause, such as civil discord. Under Ine the kingdom was in a settled condition, and the importance of an increase in the West Saxon episcopate was felt by the Church at large. Hædde resisted an order from Archbishop Bertwald, probably sent in accordance with the decree of a National Synod, for the division of his bishopric, and seems to have been upheld by the West Saxon witan, who may have desired to maintain something of the tradition of their ecclesiastical independence and isolation. By 704 the dispute had become so hot that a National Synod, held perhaps at Clovesho, decreed that unless the West Saxons obeyed the archbishop's order, they should be held as excommunicate. A schism was averted by the death of Hædde, and the West Saxon bishopric was, with Ine's consent, divided by a synodical decree. Selwood Forest was made the boundary between the two dioceses.[1] To the

The division of the West Saxon bishopric.

[1] William of Malmesbury, *G. P.* pp. 175, 375, gives Wiltshire and Berkshire to the see of Sherborne, and his statement has been adopted by high authority. See *Councils and Eccl. Docs.* iii. 276, and Plummer, *Bædæ Opp. Hist.* ii. 307. But the A. S. Chron. a. 709 makes Selwood the boundary, and is followed by Hen. of Huntingdon, p. 110, while Æthelweard, *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 507, describes Ealdhelm's diocese as "Selwoodshire." On this

east of it the country now known as Hampshire, Berkshire, Surrey, Sussex, and part of Wiltshire, was left to the see of Winchester, to which a bishop named Daniel was consecrated. The country to the west of the forest, part of Wiltshire, Dorset, and all the conquered parts of Somerset and Devon to the border of the kingdom, was formed into a new diocese with its see at Sherborne, then and long afterwards a small village. The choice of such a place for an episcopal see is another illustration of the character of English bishops as bishops of peoples rather than of cities. Such places as Lindisfarne, Lichfield, Selsey, and Sherborne would not have been chosen for the sees of continental bishops. All agreed that no one was so fit to be the bishop of the new diocese as Ealdhelm, and he was accordingly consecrated to it. He devoted himself to the active duties of his office, constantly moving about from place to place preaching the Gospel. While on one of these journeys, he fell suddenly sick at Doulting, in Somerset, was carried into the little wooden church, and laid on a stone bench, and there died on May 25, 709. The Church in Wessex profited much by his preaching, his zeal for education, his activity in building churches, and his influence with Ine. We may fairly believe that it was due to him that the last effects of the isolation which had marked its early years were finally obliterated. While he laboured in Wessex, he had friends and scholars all over England, among them Aldfrith, the scholar-king of Northumbria. And so doubtless through Ealdhelm, though without any special action on his part, the Church in Wessex was brought into full union of sentiment with the rest of the English Church. Soon after his death the Anglican episcopate was further increased. A synod having decreed, evidently with the consent of Bishop Daniel, that the South Saxons should have a bishop of their own, Eadbert, Abbot of Selsey, was consecrated as their bishop, and the see of the new diocese was placed in his church which Wilfrith had built and dedicated to St. Peter.

Ealdhelm, Bp. of Sherborne, 705-709.

The belief of Oswiu and Cædwalla in the spiritual benefits

matter see Jones, *Fasti Eccl. Sarisberiensis*, London, 1879, and *Hist. of the Dio. of Salisbury*, S.P.C.K., and Freeman, *King Ine*, ap. *Somerset Archæol. Soc's. Proc.* xx. (1874).

to be secured by a pilgrimage to Rome was shared by their fellow-countrymen generally, and indeed prevailed throughout Western Christendom. To worship at spots hallowed by apostolic memories, to adore the relics of the martyrs, to receive a blessing from the pope in person, to spend the last days of life in Rome in penitence and good works, to die and be buried there, seemed to all men of that time to be an assurance of salvation. Impelled by this belief, Cenred in 709 resigned the crown of Mercia to Ceolred, and journeyed to Rome. With him went Offa, the young and much-loved King of the East Saxons who, Bede says, "left wife and lands and kinsfolk and country," and surely also his duty to his people, "for Christ's sake and the Gospel's." The long yellow hair of the two English kings was offered to St. Peter, and they received the monastic habit. Both died soon afterwards, for the air of Rome was heavy with death, and the change from a life of vigorous exercise and abundant nourishment to one of asceticism, practised within the walls of a city, rendered the northern pilgrim unfit to resist malaria.

Pilgrimages to Rome.

After a glorious reign of thirty-seven years King Ine also resigned his crown in 725, and went as a pilgrim to Rome. A legend records that his wife Æthelburh, or Ethelburga, herself of the royal line of Wessex, often begged him to retire from the world. Seeing that he always put off his resignation, she persuaded him one day, as they were journeying about their kingdom, to return suddenly with her to a place where they had feasted and slept the night before. They found the dwelling in a state of confusion and filth; the very place where they had lain was occupied by a sow and her newly-born litter. Even so, she declared, did all earthly splendour end. Ine listened to her words, and at once took the step which she had long urged upon him. At Rome he lived humbly as a man of plebeian rank, his wife dwelling with him and strengthening him with words of loving counsel. From that time the pilgrimage to Rome became widely popular among the English. Some, like Cenred, Offa, and Ine, went thither on their retirement from the active duties of life, and remained there until they died sooner or later, others went and returned to their homes again, and some stayed in different cities on their way back, living not always creditably.

Frithogyth, the wife of Æthelheard, who succeeded Ine as King of the West Saxons, went to Rome in 737, in company with Forthere, the second Bishop of Sherborne, and she and the bishop both appear to have returned to England in 739. Many other Englishwomen, and specially abbesses and other religious ladies, went on pilgrimage to Rome, and some years later St. Boniface wrote from Germany to the then Archbishop of Canterbury urging that the bishops in synod and the English kings should forbid nuns going to Rome, because many fell into sin on the journey, became castaways in cities on the route, and so brought grave scandal on the English Church.

AUTHORITIES.—For the life of Wilfrith the authorities are the same as before, and so also for the last days of Cuthbert. Theodore's Penitential and Wihtred's Ecclesiastical Laws are to be found in *Councils and Eccl. Docs.* iii., Ine's Laws in Thorpe's *Ancient Laws and Institutes*, i., London, 1840, 8vo edit., Public Records Comm. Freeman's *King Ine* in *Somerset Archæol. Soc's. Proc.* (1872) xviii. and (1874) xx. is of great value. Lives of St. Aldhelm written by Ecgwin, Bp. of Worcester (*d.* 717), Osmund, Bp. of Salisbury (*d.* 1099), and Eadmer (*d.* 1124?) are not now known to exist; the earliest extant Life is by Faricius, Abbot of Abingdon (*d.* 1117), printed by Giles in his edition of Aldhelm's Works in *Patres Eccles. Angl.* Oxford, 1844, and in Migne's *Patrologia Lat.* vol. lxxxix. This was followed by a Life by William of Malmesbury in his *Gesta Pontificum*, Rolls ser., which represents the knowledge and traditions of his house. Among the general authorities besides Bede's *Hist. Eccl. Angl.* are the *Saxon Chron.*, William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, and Florence of Worcester, while Canon Bright's *Early English Church History* and Green's *Making of England* have also been consulted.

CHAPTER X

EARLY MONASTICISM

Early monasticism.

As the English owed their Christianity almost wholly, if not wholly, to the preaching of monks, as their Church was founded and organised by monks, and was adorned by the piety and learning of men and women of the monastic order, an attempt to illustrate the character of early monasticism in England must find a place here. The word "monk" has a wide signification, for it includes anchorets and hermits, but for our purpose it may be used for those only who lead a common life (κοινόβιος), and are thence called cœnobites, in contradistinction to anchorets (ἀναχωρηταί), who withdraw from society and live apart. Each society of men or women practising the cœnobitic life is called a convent, and their common dwelling a monastery. Monasticism had its origin in Egypt, where it was instituted by St. Anthony, who is said to have lived a hundred and five years, from about 250 to 355. His monasticism, however, was rather of the anchoretic than the cœnobitic kind, and cœnobitic monasticism was first organised by his contemporary Pachomius, abbot (*abba* or father) of eight monasteries at Tabenne, a little above the first cataract of the Nile, who composed a rule for his monks, laying down a constitution for their communities and directions for their daily life of worship and labour. The account which St. Athanasius gave of what he had seen at Tabenne, caused the Romans to regard the monastic life with respect; those who practised it were called "religious" at Rome, and their life "religion." Monasticism spread rapidly throughout Christendom, and various rules

were drawn up for monks. St. Basil (*d.* 379), composed one of these rules which was accepted by the monks of the East, and marks a distinct advance in the history of monasticism, for it treats the monastic vow as irrevocable. As all monks were bound to obey a rule (*regula*), they are called regulars, a name which distinguishes them from the clergy who lived in the world (*seculum*), and are thence called secular clerks. In the earliest times, monks were generally laymen, but before long it became the custom that some brethren of each monastery should be ordained in order to conduct its services, and the number of ordained monks tended continually to increase. Still, in the early days of the English Church, a monk was not necessarily in orders, and it was not until the time of Clement V. (1311) that all monks were compelled to be ordained. The variety of early monastic rules does not imply a variety of religious orders, such as were founded in later times. There was one monastic order, of which all the members were bound to poverty, continence, and humility, while the clergy were at liberty to possess private property, and in England were, at least in later times, generally married, though there is not sufficient ground for asserting that this was certainly the case in the early days of the English Church. Monasticism may be regarded as an attempt to reach a full conformity to the precepts of Christ, as they were understood by the Christian world for many centuries. And, as a perfect Christian life is necessarily social, those who devoted themselves to an attempt to achieve it, entered an order founded to be a pattern of Christian society, and lived in communities, under rules differing from one another according to circumstances and the wisdom of their authors, but all alike framed to promote a life of fellowship in seeking the glory of God. Each monk was, to adopt the metaphor used by St. Benedict, to be a soldier in a mighty army, with no will of his own, pledged to fight for his Lord Christ with the weapons of full obedience.

Early in the sixth century St. Benedict, founder and abbot of the monastery of Monte Cassino, drew up the Rule which was generally accepted in the West. Its acceptance was due partly to its inherent excellence, and partly to the support of the papacy. The first rule

The Rule of St. Benedict.

written for western monks, it excels all others in wisdom of conception, dignity of expression, breadth of spirit, and human sympathy. Gregory the Great warmly acknowledged its merits, wrote a life of the author, and recommended its observance. It is obvious to any one who studies the Rule that Benedict had no idea of establishing a distinct order; his Rule was intended as a standard of monastic life generally, as, to quote his words, a means of "forming a school of divine service wherein nothing should be harsh or burdensome." His ordinances are founded on principles, do not deal with mere points of practice, are never trivial. Nor did he strive after new things; he wrote for the monastic order as he found it, accepted what was accepted generally, used what was best in earlier rules, and breathed into his work his own lofty spirit.

Benedict's Rule stands on three main principles, perpetuity, renunciation, and obedience. The monk by his vow became a member for life of the monastic family into which he entered; he renounced all worldly and carnal desires, and all that he had, for he might call nothing, not even the pen with which he wrote, his own, all was the common property of the convent, and he bound himself to absolute obedience. His life was to be strenuous, for, as Benedict said, "idleness is the enemy of the soul," and he would have monks constantly employed in the "service of God" (*opus Dei*), or in labour. The monks rose about midnight and sang nocturns, and at six other times in the day, when not at work at a distance, met in their church for the services of the canonical hours. Seven hours a day were to be spent in labour and two in study, a book at a time being given out from the library of the house to each monk. In practice, the monks most fitted for study devoted all their time to reading and writing, save what was spent in the "service of God," the chief duty of all. They had a common dormitory, slept little, and always in their clothes and shoes. A tunic with sleeves, and a cowl, or cloak, of undyed wool, with a hood attached, formed their principal dress. They ate together; their food was simple but sufficient; meat was forbidden by the Rule, and they often fasted until vespers. While they ate, one of the brethren read aloud a religious book, and then, and throughout a large part of the day, they were to be silent. They served

in turn in the kitchen and at table. Punishments Benedict would have meted out rather according to the spirit of the offender than his actual offence. A light offence was to be rebuked first in private, and, if repeated, in public. If the offender was contumacious, or his offence was grave, he was separated from his brethren; efforts were to be made to bring him to repentance, but if they failed, he was to be punished with stripes, and as a last resort might be expelled from the house. The daily superintendence of the monks was committed to officers called deans, chosen apparently by the abbot with the advice of his counsellors, one, as their title (*decanus*) implies, for every ten monks; they were later called priors. A provost (*præpositus*), the head prior of later days, might also be appointed to have authority next after the abbot. All the members of a convent were to join in the election of the abbot, who held office for life. His election, however, was not invariably to be determined by a majority, for if the wiser members were in a minority, their voice was to prevail. After election, the abbot was consecrated by episcopal benediction. Absolute obedience was due to his authority, but his autocracy was tempered by an obligation to act with the advice of others. In ordinary matters he was to take counsel with the deans and elders of the house; important matters were to be discussed by all, even the youngest might speak, the final decision resting with the abbot. A convent met for business of all kinds in its chapter-house. The temporal affairs of a convent were by the Rule to be transacted by the Cellarer, and one of the monks was to be Gate-keeper. Other executive officers were also appointed, such as the Sacristan, Infirmarer, and so on, each with his own department of work.

It may fairly be supposed that the missionaries sent to England by Gregory regarded the Rule of St. Benedict as the highest standard of monastic life, and that the monasteries established in connection with the Roman mission more or less followed its ordinances, though it is probable that even at Canterbury, as we shall see later, it was not very strictly observed. On the other hand, the Scots and their disciples had their own monastic customs. The so-called rule of St. Columba consists merely of precepts for a

Monasticism of the Scots.

solitary life, and it is from the rule which Columban drew up for his monasteries on the continent that we must supplement such knowledge of the spirit of Irish monasticism as can be gained from narrative sources. While full of piety, it is distinctly inferior to the work of St. Benedict; it is vague and elementary, and ends with a monastic penitential which illustrates the severity and somewhat childish character of the discipline of the Scots. Of the customs of Iona, which were naturally followed at Lindisfarne and the other English monasteries founded by the Scots and their disciples, much has already been said. Three points may be noted in which the monasticism of the Scots differed from that inculcated by St. Benedict. First, as regards spirit, the extreme asceticism of the Scots stands in strong contrast to the moderation of the Benedictine Rule. Next, as regards daily life, in monasteries of the Scots' foundation the monks, though they all ate together, dwelt and slept in separate huts or cells, as was the custom of the monks of Egypt where the monastery arose out of a collection of hermits' dwellings, whereas Benedict provided that the monks of each house should sleep in one or more common dormitories, as their number might require. Thirdly, as regards constitution, the succession of abbots in an Irish house was not determined simply by election, as Benedict provided, but was subject to a kind of inheritance in the founder's kin, the "coarb," or heir of the abbot, holding much the same position as the "tanist" in the tribe. Each of these customs will be found to have had some effect on early English monasticism.

Child-monks.

The number of a convent was recruited partly by the application of adults for admission, and partly by the custom of presenting children to the abbot, to be brought up as religious. Oswiu having dedicated his infant daughter Ælflæd, the future Abbess of Whitby, as a holy virgin, sent her to be brought up in a monastery. So too little Æsica, who died of the plague at Barking, the boy who migrated with the East Saxon monks to dwell by Cedd's grave at Lastingham, and the boy who saw the vision of Oswald at Selsey, had each been dedicated to a monastic life, and Bede, the most famous example of all, was presented to Abbot Benedict at the age of seven. Such dedication was

held to be irrevocable. When Wilfrith, as it was believed, brought a child to life, the mother promised that at seven years of age the boy should be given to the bishop. When the time came for surrendering him, his parents were unwilling to give him up, and the poor mother fled with him and sought shelter among the Britons. Wilfrith, however, had the child taken from her, and kept him with him at Ripon, where he was called "the Bishop's son," but he, like little Æsica, died of the plague. While objections to these child-dedications are so obvious that they need not be urged here, it may be noted that, at least in these early days, the children seem to have been treated kindly. St. Benedict ordered that consideration should be shown to their tender years, and that they, as well as the more aged monks, were to be allowed meat, and not to be too long without food.

The newly-converted English regarded the life of their monastic teachers as the highest expression of Christian obedience, and many of the more devout were quick to imitate it. Among these were honourable women not a few. The influence of women is conspicuous in the early days of English Christianity. The esteem in which women were held by the heathen Germans found new expression among the Christian English in the place assigned to them in the infant Church, and is commemorated in the names and stories of a crowd of female saints. Many ladies of royal houses became founders, abbesses, or sisters of monasteries, and, as may be gathered from the doings of Hilda and Ælflæd of Whitby, Æbbe of Coldingham and others, were regarded with veneration during their lives, as well as after they were dead. The first of these royal abbesses seems to have been Eadbald's daughter Eanswith, of whom, setting mere legends aside, we know nothing save that she founded a monastery at Folkestone. Another monastery connected with the Kentish mission was, according to undoubted tradition, founded by Æthelburh, the widow of Eadwine, at Lyminge in Kent, and a third in Sheppey by Sexburh or Sexburga, a daughter of Anna of East Anglia and the widow of Earconbert of Kent. In Northumbria the first woman who took the veil is said to have been Heiu, who received it from Aidan; she founded a monastery at Hartlepool, in our county of

Consecrated women.

Durham, and afterwards retired, apparently as a recluse, to Tadcaster. Near Tadcaster a village called Healaugh preserves her name, which is inscribed on an ancient gravestone discovered there. While monasteries of women were still rare, many Englishwomen resorted to the monasteries of Gaul, and specially to Faremoutier in Brie, Chelles near Paris, and Andelys on the Seine. To Faremoutier, which was founded by a Burgundian princess named Fara, a disciple of Columban and of Eustace, his successor at Luxeuil, went Sæthryth, a step-daughter of Anna, Æthelburh (Ethelburga) his daughter, and Earcongota, daughter of his daughter Sexburh, and all three in turn became abbesses of the house, which was largely endowed by Bathild the English queen of the Neustrian Franks. Highly indeed must these English ladies have been esteemed in that famous monastery, and Englishmen rejoiced to tell how Earcongota was forewarned of her death by a vision of white-robed men, who entered the house and told her that they were sent to carry off the golden coin which had come from Kent. At Chelles, afterwards refounded by Bathild, who died there, Hereswith, Anna's sister-in-law and the mother of another East Anglian king, took the veil after her husband's death, and there her more famous sister Hilda would have joined her, had not Aidan bidden her take charge of a little house of consecrated virgins to the north of the Wear. There too, Mildrith (St. Mildred), the daughter of an under-king of the Hecanas, was educated, and on her return to England, late in the seventh century, founded the monastery called Minster in Thanet, where the church bears her name, while her more shadowy sister Mildburh is said to have become abbess of Wenlock in Shropshire.

Besides virgins and widows under monastic vows, there were from the earliest times in our church, women who, without being bound by these vows, were ecclesiastical persons, openly professing virginity. The distinction seems clear in Theodore's Penitential between "*sanctimoniales*," or "mynchens" as they were called in English, women under monastic vows, and "*basilicæ*." To these ecclesiastical women not under monastic vows the name "nun" is specially applied in Anglo-Saxon. They were ascetics by profession, but might live as "*canonicæ*" in their

The mynchen and the nun.

parents' houses, and might be dispensed from the obligation to remain unmarried by their bishop, with, as it seems, the concurrence of the king. Ecclesiastical virgins of this sort were common in the primitive Church. As monasticism decayed in England, the female monasteries fell into the hands of ladies who lived in this way, as in like manner the monasteries of men fell into the hands of secular clergy.

From the connection between English monastic ladies and the monasteries of Gaul arose the institution of double monasteries in England. The term must be interpreted strictly; they were double, not mixed, for the two sexes lived apart. Amid many diversities of practice, the essential feature in these monasteries was that a community of regular women received the spiritual ministration of regular priests who dwelt near them. It is often asserted that this institution had its rise in Ireland, because Cogitosus, the eighth-century biographer of St. Bridget, says that her house at Kildare, and her other monasteries, contained both men and women. But here, as elsewhere, Cogitosus is probably attributing what was before his eyes to the earlier time of which he wrote. In any case the institution did not begin in Ireland, nor was it a specially characteristic feature of the Irish Church. It arose in the earliest days of monasticism, and was the result of the need felt by communities of religious women for the ministration of priests. Periods of religious fervour have constantly been marked by a desire in persons of both sexes to serve God together, accompanied by a spirituality of mind too strong for sexual temptations. Throughout the history of monasticism there have been other, and far later, movements in this direction. Religious women were glad that the priests who ministered to them should be monks, and monks seem to have rejoiced to feel that women lived near them who were devoted to the same religious practices. At the very beginning of monasticism, the sister of Pachomius established a community of virgins on the other side of the river to her brother's monasteries, and so St. Basil and his sister Macrina each presided over a religious settlement, he of men and she of women, separated by the Iris. The institution spread rapidly in the East, and was prohibited by the Emperor Justinian. It reached Gaul at an early date, for a

Double monasteries.

canon of the Council of Agde, held in 506, orders that the houses of women should be removed farther from those of men. It has been argued well, and indeed successfully, that the great house for women established by Cæsarius at Arles, soon after that date, was probably a double monastery, but the first monastery of the kind in Gaul is usually supposed to have been the house of St. Rhadegund at Poitiers dedicated to the Holy Cross. Near it, though on the other side of the city wall, was a monastery of men, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, which seems to have been closely connected with the women's house. Probably in the men's monastery dwelt the poet Fortunatus, afterwards Bishop of Poitiers, the author of the hymn "Vexilla regis prodeunt," and, according to some of the more sublime "Pange lingua gloriosi," the record of whose affectionate and blameless intimacy with Rhadegund and her abbess Agnes throws an interesting light on the relations between the religious of both sexes at that time. Other clearer instances might be given of double monasteries in Gaul in the sixth century. The spiritual revival effected by the preaching of Columban and his disciples led to a vast increase of these double monasteries, not because they were an Irish institution, but because they appealed to a newly-awakened monastic enthusiasm. At Faremoutier, Chelles, and Andelys, the resorts of our English ladies, an abbess ruled over the men as well as the women, so too at Jouarre on the Marne, while at the famous double monastery founded at Remiremont in the Vosges by Romaric, a monk of Luxeuil, an abbot ruled over both sexes, though an abbess subordinate to him was also appointed for the women.

From Gaul the institution was brought into England. Whitby, Barking, Bardney, Wenlock, Wimborne, Coldingham, Ely, and Repton were all double monasteries, perhaps also St. Peter's at Gloucester, and Bath, and there may have been more. Indeed, as every women's monastery in England founded before the eighth century which we know much about appears to have had a monastery of men attached to it, we may suppose that this was the universal custom, except probably in those that owed their foundation directly to the Roman mission. In the English double monasteries the abbess ruled over both sexes; she

English double monasteries.

was "the lady," the monks were her men, and their immediate superior would be appointed by her. An exception to this rule may possibly have existed for a while at Bardney, where the ex-king Æthelred was abbot. As a royal benefactor, if not founder, he may have held an exceptional position, though there is nothing to show in what relation he stood to the abbess or the women of the house. In these monasteries, as in the double monasteries of Gaul, there was much variety in arrangement and practice. At Barking both sexes seem to have used the same church, at different times, though they had separate graveyards; at Coldingham, after the fire there, a separate church was built for the women. At Wimborne the two monasteries were separated by walls, and each had its own church; no woman ever entered the men's monastery, and none of the men the monastery of women, except the priests who came to say mass and who withdrew as soon as the service was over. The abbess gave her orders to the men through a window. At Whitby, that nursery of bishops, the abbess Hilda evidently communicated freely with the men of the house, and apparently instructed them in the Scriptures. And so doubtless did Ælflæd, who, like Hilda, gave advice to kings and nobles and took counsel with bishops on the affairs of the Church. John (of Beverley), Bishop of York, was one of her monks.

Only one double monastery has an evil report. The brethren and sisters at Coldingham became idle and self-indulgent; they gave way to gluttony and gossip, and the sisters employed their time in making fine clothes, a frequent snare to the consecrated ladies of our nation, in order to attract the admiration of men outside the house. A temporary reform was effected, but after Æbbe's death the old evils reappeared, and even grew to a greater height. The Divine wrath was believed to be manifested by a fire occasioned by some carelessness; the place was destroyed, and its more worthy inmates entered other houses. Apart from the history of the institution, it is obvious that these monasteries were not a specially Irish characteristic, for Wilfrith was a friend of Æbbe, and the chief adviser of Æthelthryth, whom he constantly visited at Ely. Theodore, however, disapproved of them—they had been forbidden in the East—and he ordered that no

more double monasteries should be founded, though he made no attempt to alter the constitution of those already in existence. The institution fell with the general decay of monasticism which was completed by the Danish invasions. At least one double monastery, the famous house of Heidenham, now in Würtemberg, was founded in Germany by English missionaries; the institution had, however, existed east of the Rhine in earlier days.

Under Hilda's rule the double monastery at Whitby became the home of the father of English sacred poetry. A herdsman named Cædmon—the name suggests a British descent, and he may have had a British mother—who worked on the farm of the monastery, was troubled because he lacked the gift of song then common among the English. When he and his companions sat together at feasts and the harp was handed from one to another, that each might sing in turn, he would, as it came near him, rise abashed and leave the house. One night, when he had done so, he went to the stable where his cattle stood, and there fell asleep. As he slept, he heard one call to him saying, "Cædmon, sing me something." He answered, "I cannot sing, and that is why I have left the feast." Again the voice said, "Nevertheless you must sing to me." "What shall I sing?" he asked. "Sing," the voice replied, "the beginning of things created." Then he sang praise to God the Creator in verses which he had never heard before. When he awoke he remembered what he had sung in his dream, and added more verses to it. In the morning he told his dream to his master, the bailiff, who took him to the abbess. In order to prove him, Hilda, and some of her more learned monks who were with her, expounded a passage of Scripture to him, and bade him turn it into verse. He returned the next morning and repeated the verses which he had made. Then Hilda thanked God for him, ordered that he should be admitted a monk of her house, and caused him to be taught Bible history, and all that he learnt he turned into verse. How much of the mass of extant poetry attributed to him is really his composition is a matter for the decision of Early English scholars. The story of his death is one of the gems of Bede's work. He had for a fortnight been suffering from what seemed to be a

Cædmon.

slight ailment. Near, apparently, to his cell was the infirmary where the monks who were sick and like to die were laid, and on the evening of his death he bade his attendant prepare him a bed there. The man wondered at this, for Cædmon seemed far from death, but nevertheless did as he had said. For some time Cædmon talked cheerfully with the sick in the infirmary. About midnight, however, he asked if the Eucharist was in the infirmary, which shows that it was customarily reserved there for the use of the dying. He was told that he had no need of it, for he could not be dying as he had been talking so cheerfully. But he again called for it, and when it was given him, he took it in his hand, and after asking all in turn if they were at peace with him, said, "I, my children, am in perfect peace with all God's servants." Having so said, he fortified his soul with the heavenly viaticum. Then he asked if it was near the time for the brethren to praise the Lord at nocturns. He was told that the hour was near. "Let us wait for it," he said. With this he signed himself with the sign of the cross, laid his head upon his pillow and slumbered, and so passed peacefully into rest.

St. Etheldreda, Abbess of Ely.

No female saint or abbess was regarded by the English with so deep and lasting veneration as Æthelthryth, or St. Etheldreda, a daughter of Anna, King of the East Anglians, probably because devotion to virginity seemed personified in her. Though twice married, she was still a virgin when she left her second husband, Ecgfrith of Northumbria, and received the veil from Wilfrith at Coldingham. Thither it was believed Ecgfrith pursued her, and her flight became the subject of legends; a spring of water rose to assuage her thirst, and her staff grew into an ash-tree which sheltered her while she slept. So did the old heathen reverence for springing water and trees reappear in Christian legend. At last she reached the isle of Ely, which had been given to her by her first husband on her marriage, and there, upon a little hill, overlooking a wide waste of water and fen-land, she built a monastery for men and women, and became its abbess. Her asceticism was extreme; she seldom ate more than once a day, or took a warm bath except before the festivals of Easter, Whitsunday, and Epiphany, and always when in health remained in prayer in

the church after matins, which were sung soon after midnight, until dawn. After seven years, in 679, she fell sick of the plague which was then raging in her monastery. The bubo, or tumour, which formed on her neck caused her much pain, and she told the sisters that she welcomed the suffering because she looked on it as an atonement for the delight that she felt as a girl in necklaces of gold and pearls. Her confession of this youthful vanity seems to be commemorated by our word "tawdry," the phrase a "tawdry lace" being said to mean a necklace bought at the fair of St. Audrey, the popular form of her name. A physician named Cynefrith lanced the tumour, and she died three days afterwards. Her body was translated sixteen years later; it was then incorrupt, and was believed to be incorruptible.

Exemption from episcopal jurisdiction.

Almost from the first, signs of antagonism may be discerned between the self-governing monastic communities and the bishops. A canon of the Synod of Hertford forbade bishops to trouble monasteries. Though papal grants of exemption from episcopal control purporting to belong to early times are as a rule to be regarded with suspicion, Benedict Biscop certainly obtained a grant from Agatho rendering his monastery free from all external interference. On the other hand, a privilege granted by Wihtred, King of Kent, to the monasteries of his kingdom between 696 and 716, provides that an abbot or abbess elect should be examined, approved, and consecrated by the archbishop, as bishop of the kingdom. At no time before the Norman Conquest did the system of monastic exemptions attain any general importance.

Benedictinism in England.

The Rule of St. Benedict, already doubtless held in reverence in Kent and East Anglia, was introduced by Wilfrith into Northumbria, and of course also into the monasteries which he founded in Mercia. Yet there was probably at all times great diversity of practice in English monasteries, and for the greater part of our period the Rule was not strictly kept. In one respect it made a noteworthy change in the arrangement of a house by the institution of the common dormitory. In the story of Cædmon's death there is a strong suggestion that the monks of Whitby inhabited, and slept in, separate cells or huts. At

Coldingham both the men and women certainly did so. This is not otherwise than might be expected, for both houses followed the customs of Iona, which in this respect agreed with those of primitive monasticism. These cells seem to have been divided into two parts, one for habitation and the other for prayer, like the hermit-cell of St. Cuthbert. Benedict Biscop, who was ardent in the cause of Benedictinism, furnished his united monasteries with common dormitories. Yet Bede lay sick and died in his own cell, part of which may perhaps have been an oratory; he was, we may suppose, exempted from the general rule on account of his studies and the dignity of his position as a teacher. At Abingdon, founded in Ine's reign, the brethren seem to have had separate cells of this kind, for after the monastery had long lain desolate, twelve cells, each with its own oratory, were still standing. The common dormitory, however, prevailed after the beginning of the eighth century. A cardinal point in the Rule, the right of electing a superior, was certainly not commonly observed, at least in spirit; the claim of a founder's kin was generally acknowledged. For example, on Æthelthryth's death, she was succeeded at Ely by her sister Sexburh, who had previously entered Æthelthryth's monastery, leaving her own monastery in Sheppey under the charge of her daughter Eormenhild, the widow of Wulfhere of Mercia. When she came to Ely she brought with her Eormenhild's daughter Werburh (St. Werburgh), and on Sexburh's death, Eormenhild made Werburh Abbess of Sheppey, and succeeded her mother at Ely, where she was in turn succeeded by her daughter. Now though it is quite possible that at Ely, which was a large monastery, the convent did, as the late Ely writer asserts, elect Æthelthryth's sister, niece, and grand-niece, the succession illustrates a custom which had mischievous results. Even Wilfrith, as we have seen, provided for the election of his nephew at Ripon in a manner wholly contrary to the spirit of the Rule of St. Benedict. At Wearmouth and Jarrow, however, the Rule was strictly obeyed with respect to elections.

Benedict Biscop, the founder of these two famous houses, set out on his third journey to Rome in 671, after resigning the abbacy of St. Augustine's to Hadrian, and returned

with a large number of books which he had purchased at Rome and Vienne. Ecgfrith of Northumbria listened with deep interest to all that he had to tell him about his travels, and specially to his account of monastic life at Rome, Lerins, and other places, for the king, though by no means faultless, was a godly man. In order that Benedict might set up in his kingdom a monastery such as those he described, where he could place the books and relics which he had collected, Ecgfrith gave him seventy hides of land at the mouth of the Wear. Accordingly, in 674, Benedict founded the monastery of Wearmouth in honour of St. Peter. Like Wilfrith he was anxious to adorn his foundation with the arts of Rome and Gaul, so he went to Gaul and brought back with him masons, who built him a church of stone "after the Roman manner." Then he sent to Gaul for glass-makers, who made latticed windows of glass for his church and refectory, and taught the English their art. He also imported ornaments and vestments such as could not have been made in England, and for the fourth time journeyed to Rome, and brought back many books and relics. As we have already seen, he procured the services of John, the precentor of St. Peter's, to teach his monks the Roman ritual and mode of chanting, and obtained a privilege for his house from Pope Agatho. He also brought back a number of pictures for his church, representations of the "Ever-virgin mother of God," of the Apostles, and of scenes from the Gospel history and the Apocalypse, so that whoever entered the building, even though unlettered, might have divine lessons brought before his eyes.

Wearmouth and Jarrow.

Delighted with all that he saw at Wearmouth, Ecgfrith desired him to build another monastery, and gave him another grant of land for the purpose. Benedict founded his new house on the south bank of the Tyne, at the present Jarrow, some seven miles from Wearmouth, and dedicated it to St. Paul, sending twenty-two of the Wearmouth monks there with Ceolfrith, the prior, as their abbot. The two houses were so closely connected that, though their buildings stood seven miles apart, they formed one monastery of the Apostles Peter and Paul. The united convent received from its founder the Rule of St. Benedict, together with regulations which he had compiled from the practices of seventeen other monasteries,

chiefly, we may be sure, from those he had seen in the famous monastery of Lerins, where he had made his own monastic profession. For the fifth time he went from England to Rome to procure pictures, books, and other things for his new house, leaving, as ruler of Wearmouth, his kinsman Eosterwine, whom he had already made his coadjutor there, for he was often sent for to court, and so needed some one to take his place when he was away.

During Benedict's absence at Rome the plague visited his monasteries. At Jarrow all the monks who could read, or preach, or chant antiphons, were carried off, except Ceolfrith and one boy whom he brought up. So the abbot sorrowfully told the lad that they must recite the psalmody without antiphons, except at vespers and matins. This they did for a week, and then as the frequent omissions in the services caused the monks to weep afresh for their brethren whose voices were stilled in death, Ceolfrith said that he and the boy would sing the antiphons alone. This they did at every service, the boy's young voice joining bravely with the abbot's, until others learnt enough to be able to help them. The boy was almost certainly Bede, who was then about thirteen. At Wearmouth Eosterwine died of the plague, and the monks elected Sigfrith in his place. Soon after Benedict's return from Rome both he and Sigfrith fell sick. Benedict was paralysed and unable to leave his bed. He charged his monks to keep the Rule of St. Benedict and the regulations which he had drawn up for them, to be careful of the noble collection of books which he had given them, and never to be swayed in their election of an abbot by birth or family connection, but always to choose the best man from their own convent according to the Rule. He caused Sigfrith to be carried into his cell and laid by his side, and the two abbots kissed and took leave of each other, and then they and all the brethren chose Ceolfrith to rule over the united convent. Six months after Sigfrith's death Benedict's long illness ended; he died fortified by the Blessed Sacrament on January 12, 689. He was a man of great holiness, wisdom, and energy, and had much influence over others. Many nobles entered his monastery, and though at first they caused Ceolfrith so much trouble by their impatience of discipline that he resigned the

Their early abbots.

office of prior, Benedict persuaded him to resume it, and soon made his convent a pattern of order and brotherly love. Benedict's advice was constantly sought by the Northumbrian kings, and while he admired all things Roman and reverenced the Roman see, he probably upheld the policy of the Northumbrian court with reference to the division of Wilfrith's bishopric. His position would be shared by his convent, and would account for Bede's evident lack of sympathy with Wilfrith. His monastery became famous throughout Western Christendom as the home of Bede. His work in promoting learning in the North entitles him to be ranked with Theodore, Hadrian, and Ealdhelm, as one of the chief of those who made the victory of Rome and the Benedictine Rule in England the means of furthering literature, art, and civilisation; its effects were far-reaching, for through Bede and Alcuin it is closely connected with the revival of letters among the Franks and the peoples of the Frankish empire.

Bishops' churches.

As the conversion of the English was for the most part effected by missionary bishops of the monastic order, the bishops' churches founded in newly converted districts were served by monks and called monasteries. The success of the monastic missionaries led to the ordination of secular clergy to work among the converts. When a new bishopric was formed for a people already more or less evangelised, the bishop's see would sometimes be placed in a secular church, and in any case he would be surrounded by secular clergy, and the longer a people had been Christian the larger would be the number of the clergy round the bishop. While, then, the episcopal churches founded at the outset of missionary work in a kingdom would be monastic, those which were founded in dioceses formed by later subdivision would be secular. For example, Lindisfarne remained monastic, while York after its refoundation was secular; Canterbury was monastic, Rochester, though only founded a few years later, and London were secular. In early times the distinction between the monastic and the secular clergy had no constitutional importance in bishops' churches. Monks and clerks lived together in the bishop's monastery, as it was called. Gradually these churches took each its distinctive character. If a secular bishop was

appointed to a monastic church, his church was served by the monks and he kept his clerks in his household. Conversely, if a monastic bishop had a secular church, it would be served by its own body of clerks, while he and his household would live more or less as in a monastery. In course of time the monastic cathedrals fell into the hands of secular clergy. Very likely there were more secular bishops than our monastic historians would lead us to suppose, and a secular bishop would strengthen the secular element in his church. Be this as it may, the change may sufficiently be accounted for by the general decay of monasticism in the country. Then, in the tenth century, a new movement set in, and bishop's churches which had once been monastic were regained for monks of a stricter sort, who ousted the secular clergy, and became in each case the monastic chapter. This is to look a long way ahead, but in our future reading it may be useful to know the direction in which matters were tending. So far as we have yet gone, and farther, a bishop's monastery would include both monks and clerks living together. At Christ Church, Canterbury, the clerical element was always strong, at least during the time covered by this book, except apparently for a very few years in the eleventh century. This was natural in a metropolitan church, for the business of the primatial see demanded many clerks. Yet it was always considered a monastery. Indeed all through the period of monastic decay and the extinction of all Benedictinism, there were many so-called monasteries though they were in fact in the hands of secular clerks. Moreover, it must be remembered that in England, as also in Germany, the term "monasterium" or "mynstre" was constantly applied to many churches which were not monastic, generally at least to churches of importance with a college of clergy. So we still speak of the cathedral churches of York and Lincoln, and the collegiate churches of Beverley and Southwell as minsters (*monasteria*), though they were served by secular clerks.

Saxon church architecture.

As monks were the chief builders of our early churches, something may be said here on English church architecture before the Norman Conquest. While many of the less important churches were made of wood, churches were from the first built of stone, after the Roman fashion, as it was said, for the use of stone in building,

though not unknown to the Scots, was largely due to Roman influence. Though the political empire of Rome was overthrown by Teutonic barbarians, Rome's conquerors yielded to its moral influence. No emperor dwelt within its mighty palaces, yet Rome remained imperial, for it held an empire over the minds of men; it was the source and ruling centre of Catholic Christianity in the West. The Teutonic peoples, while accepting its religious teaching, borrowed from it their ideas of art and civilisation. The architecture which they copied was not that of the classical and heathen period. Christian Rome adopted a new style of building which was freed from the trammels of Greek art; the entablature was cast aside, and the distinctive elements of Roman architecture, the round arch and the pier, assumed prominence. This style, while still in a rude and undeveloped state, was copied by the Northern nations. In their hands it grew in majesty and splendour, and was finally brought to perfection by the builders of Northern France, Normandy, and England.

From its Roman origin, this style has received the general name of romanesque. It was, however, practised with differences in different countries, so that romanesque buildings in Provence and in Germany, for example, though one in principle, have distinct characteristics. Our early architecture, which exhibits a variety of this style, has been called "primitive romanesque," to distinguish it from the independent romanesque imported from Normandy. For the sake of convenience the term Saxon may be used for it. The existing specimens of this style exhibit marked differences, as might be expected from the length of the period between the dates of St. Augustine and Eadward the Confessor, but it is not possible to arrange them chronologically with any degree of certainty.

Mr. Micklethwaite's classification.

Following a method which has lately been pursued with success, we may consider them first according to ground plan, as belonging to two classes, the one basilican, the other square-ended. Roman influence is evident in the basilican plan, which was imitated from the basilican churches of Rome. What that plan is has already been explained in what has been said of Augustine's cathedral church. Briefly, the usual basilican arrangement is a wide nave with aisles, an apse

Basilican churches.

entered by a wide arch with the high altar on the chord of the arc, and the choir in front of it, either in the nave, or where a rectangular transeptal space is interposed between the nave and the apse, in that part, with a *confessio* in the crypt, and generally at the end opposite to the apse, a porch leading into an *atrium* or forecourt. Here, one or more of these characteristics were often absent, and it has been observed that the apse, if broad, was entered by three small arches, as though the builders felt unequal to the wide arch of the Roman basilica. Of this type were, among others, besides Christ Church, the old minster at York, Wilfrith's minsters at Ripon and Hexham, and the church at Reculver built in 669, and the aisleless churches of St. Pancras at Canterbury, Lyminge, and Rochester. The type may be studied in two existing churches, Brixworth, in Northamptonshire, where the aisles are gone, and where the eastern arches, instead of leading directly into the apse, led into the transeptal space in front of it, and Wing, in Buckinghamshire, where the arcades still open into aisles.

Of a wholly different type are churches with a square-end instead of an apse. This type is connected with the Scots' mission, and its genesis may be found in an early fashion of domestic building, in the booth-shaped houses built on "crucks" or forks, by uniting two pairs of trees or timbers, bent each to each, by a ridge beam. This formed the skeleton of a house of a single bay with flat ends and walls of wattle. As applied to a church, this bay may be regarded as the original sanctuary. To this a larger bay of like construction would be added for the congregation, the two being connected by a narrow doorway, as in a domestic building. Such, we may suppose, was Finan's church at Lindisfarne, where the thatch was afterwards removed, and the walls and roof covered with lead, and such, too, though probably consisting only of one bay, was the old church (*vetusta ecclesia*) at Glastonbury. Thence came the square end of the English church, which ousted the Roman apse, though not entirely, for there are one or two specimens of apsidal non-basilican churches. One of these, the Saxon church at Worth, in Sussex, has transepts with narrow entrances, and an apse entered by a wide arch. The square end resisted the influence of the Norman apse, and became a national tradition.

Square-ended churches.

In the early square-ended churches the eastern division is small, it was merely the sanctuary, the choir being placed in the narrow and longer nave. Crypts were no longer built, and the churches were generally narrow and without aisles. Specimens of these churches are numerous. Benedict Biscop's church at Wearmouth, in spite of his Roman predilections, was evidently on this plan, but it shows Roman influence in its western arrangement, where the porch, which still stands as the lower part of the later Saxon tower, has four openings, one doorway leading into the church, the western into a baptistery, of which traces have been discovered, and the other two into the covered walks of the *atrium*. At Jarrow the present chancel is, it is maintained, far too long for a Saxon presbytery, and was really the narrow nave of the old church in which Bede preached. A good example of such a narrow nave, with a small square presbytery at the east end, is afforded by the ancient church at Escomb near Durham. The extreme smallness of the internal entrances into different parts of a church, as from the nave into the sanctuary, point to the domestic origin of this class of buildings. Of this feature the little church of Ealdhelm at Bradford-on-Avon in earlier, and the smaller of the two Saxon churches of Deerhurst, Gloucestershire, in later times, are good examples.

Saxon towers.

Ealdhelm's church is an interesting variety, for it has a square porch or annexe on the north side of the nave, and connected with it by a narrow doorway; it can scarcely be called a transept, for it is really independent of the nave. From such side porches would come the idea of the central tower, resting originally on four walls, the fourth being built across the nave, as in the church in Dover Castle, where the transeptal arches are little more than doorways in walls. A further advance would be made to the true cruciform church of later days, where the steeple rests on lantern arches, as at Stow in Lindsey, built by Earl Leofric towards the middle of the eleventh century. Along with a central tower, some churches had also a lower western tower, notably the church of Ramsey Abbey, and the still existing church at Deerhurst in Gloucestershire, which has lost its central tower. Two-towered churches were probably not built until the latter part

of the tenth century. Western towers do not belong to the earliest periods of Saxon architecture. At Wearmouth, Brixworth, and probably in the case of Trinity Church, Colchester, the tower is built upon an earlier western porch, which would lead into the baptistery and the forecourt. Yet western towers were built before the Danish invasions, and probably in the eighth century, though most of the existing specimens seem to be much later. In form they resemble the Italian campanile, they are tall, unbuttressed, and severe in outline.

Saxon architecture, being a national variety of romanesque, uses the round arch in important positions and in ornamentation. It exhibits certain characteristic details. (1) Flat, narrow, and square-edged projections called *pilaster strips* are common external ornaments, and are often connected by arches so as to form a decorative arcade. Analogous to these strips is the flat rib, or impost moulding, used to ornament jambs and arches. (2) From a method of bonding arose the fashion of laying stones alternately on their sides and ends. This is called *long and short work*, and is used in jambs and quoins. (3) Doorways are cut straight through walls *without splays*. (4) Some small doorways and windows are crowned with a *triangular arch* formed by two inclined stones. (5) Many windows have a *double splay*, external as well as internal. (6) Double windows are often divided by *baluster shafts*, which look as though turned by a lathe. These balusters are used in other places besides windows; they have one, or more commonly two or three swells, and are encircled by bands. Saxon piers are generally rectangular, mere bits of walling with massive imposts. The stone-carving in some churches was extremely rich, as at Wearmouth. The surfaces of the towers often exhibit pilaster strips, and sometimes much other ornamentation. This is specially the case at Earls Barton in Northamptonshire, where the tower is profusely decorated, and at Barton-on-Humber, near Hull, where the decoration is less profuse and less barbaric. The twin lights of belfry windows are often separated by a baluster shaft surmounted by a heavy transverse bracket, which runs the whole depth of the wall, and supports it. Examples have been found of chambers for habitation in the towers and roofs of Saxon churches. These

Details.

chambers were no doubt used by the priests, and would seem to imply one or more others external to the church for cooking and other purposes. Connected with the tower-chambers were internal western galleries, which seem to have been not uncommon. Stone altars, of which there were generally more than one even in small churches, and screens, have left their traces, and fonts which may fairly be assigned to Saxon times are still used.

The general advance in civilisation which followed the triumph of Christianity is illustrated by the progress made in the lesser arts as well as in architecture. Skill in working metals was always held in high esteem by the Germanic peoples; Weland "the wise smith" had a place among the superhuman beings of their mythology, and the maker of arms and armour chanted magical verses as he smote the glowing metal. While the Church forbade the "spells of smiths," it encouraged their art by making new demands upon it and directing it into new channels. In the eighth century, two of the thirty altars in York minster were overlaid with plates of gold and silver. One of them was studded with gems. Over the other stood a cross covered with gold, and before it hung a chandelier of twenty-seven lights; the chalice was a massive vessel of gold. At Minster, the third abbess Eadburh, or Bugge, a daughter of Centwine of Wessex, built a church, in which cross and chalice and paten were splendid with gold and gems, and a censer hanging from the roof sent up a cloud of incense. Bells called the monks to meet for prayer and other purposes, and were certainly made in England. Benedict Biscop and others were, however, forced to import many things that they wanted for their churches, and thus set new patterns before the English goldsmiths, whose work became famous throughout Europe.

The monks and some lesser arts.

Whether the pictures imported by Benedict were imitated by native artists seems uncertain, though Bugge's church certainly contained three pictures. By the beginning of the ninth century pictures for churches must have commonly been painted in England, for a canon of 816 orders that every church should have a picture of its patron saints. Bugge's church had glass in the

Painting and music.

windows, which may or may not have been brought from Gaul. The art of glass-making which Benedict introduced into the North does not seem to have flourished there long, for less than a century after his death an abbot of Wearmouth asked that a glass-maker might be sent to him from Germany, because no one knew the business in those parts. Of the care bestowed by the monks on chanting enough has been said. Apparently their psalmody was at first accompanied by the lyre, which was struck with a *plectrum*, but organs were used as early as Ealdhelm's time, and were then perhaps first introduced into England. Some part of the furniture which the monks needed for their churches was doubtless made in their own monasteries; in later times we shall see that this was so, and St. Benedict's rule contemplated monks being engaged in handicrafts. A casual notice by Bede that a certain monk was a skilful smith is proof, if any be needed, that handicrafts were practised by the monks of his time.

Chief, however, among their manual employments was the cultivation of the land. Often planting their settlements on barren heaths, or in the midst of desolate fens, or on some spot covered with brushwood, they laboured patiently, clearing, ploughing, and sowing the land until it became fruitful. Bede gives us a notice of the agricultural work done in his monastery, telling us how Abbot Eosterwine, once one of the king's thegns, after entering Benedict's convent in the prime of life, delighted to share in the work of the brethren, in winnowing, threshing, milking, cultivating the garden, and helping in the bake-house and kitchen, and how after he became abbot, if he came where any of the monks were ploughing or winnowing or working at the forge, he would stop a while and take part in their work.

Agriculture.

AUTHORITIES.—The character of early English monasticism is to be gathered from Bede's *Hist. Eccles.* and his *Vitæ Abbatum*, founded on the *Historia Abbatum Gyrvensium*, auct. anon. in Mr. Plummer's *Bede*, and *Bedæ, Opera Hist. Minora*, Engl. Hist. Soc. The rule of St. Benedict has often been printed, a good edition with commentary and life is by Brandes, Einsiedeln, 1857; a handy one without notes has been printed at Monte Cassino, 1872, 1888. St. Columban's rule is in Fleming's *Collectanea Sacra*, edited by "Sirinus" (O'Sherrin), Louvain, 1667, and reprinted by Migne. Mabillon's *Annales Benedictini*, vol. i., Paris, 1703-39, 6 vols., contains interesting notices of the early monasteries of Gaul. Every student of monastic

history owes a heavy debt to Montalembert's *Moines d'Occident*, and Dom Gasquet's Introduction to the 1896 edition of the English translation should be consulted on St. Benedict's rule. Lingard's *History and Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, 2nd edit., 1844, reprinted 1858, will be found useful. On early exemptions and bishops' churches see Bp. Stubbs's Introduction to *Memorials of Richard I.* vol. ii., *Epp. Cantuar.*, Rolls ser. It is a pleasure to acknowledge a debt to a paper on *Double Monasteries* read by Miss Bateson before the R. Hist. Soc., which will be printed in the Society's Transactions for 1899; it contains a scholarly and interesting account of the institution in various countries. The sketch of Saxon church architecture is to no small extent grounded on a paper entitled "Something about Saxon Church Building," in the *Archæological Journal*, liii., for 1896, by Mr. Micklethwaite, who has for the first time attempted to use ground plans rather than details as a basis for classification and date, but it is of course inadequately represented here. The reader is also referred to Sir G. Scott's *Lectures on Mediæval Architecture*, vol. ii., London, 1879; G. G. Scott's *Essay on English Church Architecture*, London, 1881, 4to; and Freeman's *History of Architecture*, London, 1849. For the church at Minster see a poem "Ad templum Buggæ," printed among the supposititious works of Alcuin, *Alc. Opera*, ii. 549, ed. Froben, Migne ci. 1309, and wrongly ascribed to him, for it was written during the reign of Ine, see ll. 36, 37, and so before Alcuin was born. Mai, on the authority of a Vatican MS., ascribes it to Bp. Ealdhelm, *Classici Auctores*, v. 387, Rome, 1833, and it is accordingly printed by Giles in his *Aldhelmi Opera*, p. 115, *Patres Eccl. Anglic.*

CHAPTER XI

ACTIVITIES

The manual employments of the monks did not afford an antidote to the feverish desire for irrational asceticism; indeed physical labour and extreme asceticism often went hand in hand. As the demand for evangelistic work slackened and ceased with the general acceptance of Christianity, English monasticism seems to have been in some danger of sinking into a state of uselessness and abjection. And such a catastrophe would not have affected those only who were under monastic vows; it would have crippled the activity of the Church and would have produced a wholly false idea of Christian life and duty. It has been remarked with great justice that at this critical point in its history, English monasticism was saved from such a calamitous degradation by the spirit infused into it by Theodore and Hadrian in the South, and Benedict Biscop in the North. The minds of the religious of both sexes were turned to the pursuit of learning. At the same time, too, a new call was made on monastic energy by the awakening of a zeal for missionary enterprise. With this missionary zeal the name of Wilfrith must certainly be connected, as it must also with a third element in monastic regeneration, the influence of Benedictinism. While the monks of Iona and the convents connected with the Scots' mission lived together in ordered communities, the Benedictine system, of which Wilfrith was the apostle in the North and the Midlands, was instinct with a far stronger conventual spirit than existed among the Scots and their followers. The rule of St.

Monasticism saved from extravagant asceticism.

Benedict by supplying monks with a moderate and regulated ascetic system, sufficient to subjugate the flesh without enfeebling the intellect or endangering the constitution, and by its insistence on the common life and conventual duties, discouraged withdrawal from others bound by the same vows, and indulgence in solitary and excessive asceticism. The spirit of each kind of monasticism has already been illustrated, and this chapter will therefore be devoted to a sketch of the learning and the missionary efforts which for a season ennobled monastic life in England after the coming of Theodore.

The learning derived from the school at Canterbury, which was revived and personally taught by Theodore and Hadrian, lasted in the West Saxon monasteries until the middle of the eighth century, and owed much to the literary energy of Ealdhelm. In the North, the learned period was of longer duration, for the intellectual activity implanted by Benedict Biscop in the convent of his sister-houses at Wearmouth and Jarrow, and rendered illustrious by Bede, inspired the foundation of the school of York, which reached the height of its fame towards the close of the eighth century, shortly before its extinction. The missionary work of the English Church, at least so far as this period is concerned, was virtually contemporaneous with the devotion to learning, and the two movements cannot be kept entirely apart, for learning and missionary zeal were happily not strangers to each other.

Transcription of books.

To the school at Canterbury, under Theodore and Hadrian, ecclesiastics resorted from every part of England, and carried back to their own monasteries and homes an eager desire both to add to their own store of knowledge, and to teach that which they had learnt to others. Hence arose a demand for books, which were scarce and costly. This demand was met by importation from abroad and by transcription in monasteries. Monks who were skilful in transcription devoted all their time, save what was taken up by worship, to copying books, which were lent to their houses for that purpose either by other monasteries or by great men. A notice of the importation of books occurs in a story of Ealdhelm. On a visit that he made to Dover, he eagerly scanned the foreign merchandise exposed there for sale in the hope of finding some book of

sacred learning, for the trade was brisk in books brought over from Gaul. He lighted on a volume containing both the Old and New Testaments, and offered a price for it which was rejected. He afterwards obtained the precious volume, for he was believed to have delivered the owners from a storm by his prayers, and the book was placed at Malmesbury, where it was still to be seen in the twelfth century.

Benedict Biscop spared neither labour nor expense in collecting the library with which he endowed his monasteries, and his successor, Ceolfrith, was not less eager in adding to it. Among Ceolfrith's additions were three copies of the Vulgate, or later translation of the Bible, and one of the older version. Two of the copies of the Vulgate Ceolfrith placed in his sister-monasteries, the third he took with him when he resigned the abbacy and set out for Rome in 716, intending to present it to the pope, but he died at Langres while on his way thither. The Bible which was destined for the pope is still in existence, and is the famous *Codex Amiatinus* now in the Laurentian Library at Florence. It is a large folio of 1029 leaves, and the distinctly foreign character of the writing shows that it must have been written by Italian scribes brought over by the abbot. The riches of Benedict's library can to some extent be estimated by the books that Bede used. They form a long list, and together with many works on theological and other ecclesiastical subjects include books of literature and science, and some Greek books, for the most part probably grammars. Among the Greek books, however, was the text of the Acts of the Apostles in Greek and Latin. This book, which was used by Bede when writing on the Acts, is the well-known *Codex Laudianus*, now in Bodley's Library at Oxford, an important authority for the text of the Acts. It has been suggested that it was brought over to England by Archbishop Theodore, though it may well have been purchased in Italy by Benedict.

The skill and labour required for the production of books rendered them extremely valuable. Aldfrith the Wise, King of Northumbria, gave no less than eight hides of land to the monks for a fine copy of the *Cosmographers* which Benedict had brought from Rome. It was esteemed no small favour when the king lent the convent the

Schools of writing.

book *On the Holy Places*, which Adamnan, Abbot of Iona, had written and presented to him. The monks, doubtless, copied the precious volume, for Bede gives some extracts from it. There were two schools of writing in England in these early days, at Canterbury and Lindisfarne. The Canterbury style of writing was introduced by the Roman mission, and the scribes who practised it imitated the Roman uncials with some local peculiarities. This style, of which the Canterbury Psalter, written about 700, and now in the British Museum, is an example, never made much way in England, and had no effect in forming the national handwriting. It was far otherwise with the school which adopted the writing of the Scots or Irish, and had its headquarters at Lindisfarne. As in architecture the fashion, derived from the Scots, of building square-ended churches triumphed over the apsidal mode introduced by the Romans, so it was with handwriting. The half-uncial round handwriting of Lindisfarne became the basis of English handwriting. Modifications were soon made, and a native English style was evolved, which continued until a new hand was imported from Gaul towards the end of the tenth century. Many books copied in monasteries were beautifully illuminated. The Irish monks were skilful in illumination, and their skill was inherited by the English. At Lindisfarne, Bishop Eadfrith produced the splendid specimen of this art known as the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, which is now in the British Museum. While the figures of the evangelists might have been executed in other lands, the intricacies of the geometrical patterns, combined with figures of birds and dragon-like creatures, and the wonderful interlacings of knots are peculiar to the work of the Irish and the English who adopted and carried on their art.

Learning in the West Saxon monasteries. Ealdhelm.

Perhaps the most eminent of the scholars who studied at Canterbury was Ealdhelm, or St. Aldhelm, Abbot of Malmesbury and first Bishop of Sherborne, of whom we have already heard. He was, Bede says, admirable for his erudition alike in liberal and ecclesiastical writings. He taught all who came to him for learning at Malmesbury, and was anxious to show that there was no longer any need for his countrymen to go to Ireland for learning, since they could have a better education in their own land. Like other Canterbury scholars, he had a com-

plete mastery of Latin and an acquaintance with many Latin authors; he is said to have known Greek, and Hebrew also, but that is, doubtless, an exaggeration. He was the first Englishman who attained any skill in Latin verse composition, and wrote a treatise on that art addressed to Aldfrith of Northumbria under the pseudonym of Acircius. His Latin is amazingly pompous and involved. This has, somewhat unfairly, been put down as the result of the early teaching that he received from Maidulf the Scot. It seems rather to point to the influence of British learning, for in the south-west country, where the British element was strong, obscure and barbarous Latin was highly thought of. This fashion, which was independent of Canterbury, was derived from the writings of a certain Martianus Capella, an African rhetorician of the fifth century. Ealdhelm doubtless cultivated his extraordinary style to gratify a pedantic vanity. His contemporary, Bishop Daniel, a learned as well as a wise and holy man, must also have contributed to the spread of education in Wessex, and under the influence of Ealdhelm and Daniel, the West Saxon monasteries became the abodes of learning and of activity in all good works.

Conspicuous among Ealdhelm's disciples were women of monastic life. In activity of all kinds, artistic, literary, and religious, the convents of women came no whit behind those of men. The handicrafts chiefly practised in them were spinning, weaving, and embroidery, specially applied to the production of vestments, and articles used in decoration of churches and altars, and for other pious ends. Cuthbert was buried in a shroud given him in his lifetime by an abbess of Tynemouth, and his tomb was hung with silks sent to him by Æthelthryth from Ely. Vestments and altar-cloths were wrought in women's monasteries for churches at home, and for the use of English missionaries abroad, and great excellence was attained in the art of embroidery. Some consecrated ladies employed themselves in copying and illuminating books. The art of writing in gold was practised by women as well as men, and Wilfrith's famous *Evangelium* at Ripon must have been matched, so far as scribe's work was concerned, by the volume containing the Epistles of St. Peter which, in 735, Eadburh, or Bugge, Abbess

Women scholars.

of Minster, wrote in letters of gold for Boniface, the English Apostle of Germany. Bugge was famous as a scribe, and Lul, or Lullus, who succeeded his old master Boniface in the see of Mainz, sent her a silver pen as an appropriate present. A poem ascribed to Ealdhelm rapturously praises her church at Minster, of which something has already been said.

Ealdhelm's favourite female scholars seem to have belonged to the monastery of Barking, where in his time the abbess was Hildelith, the successor of Æthelburh, the first abbess, the sister of Bishop Earconwald, who was carried off by the plague. To Hildelith and nine of her sisterhood Ealdhelm dedicated the prose version of his treatise the *Praise of Virginity*. He speaks in high praise of their scholarly tastes and attainments, and compares them to bees, because they everywhere collected materials for study; they were skilled in the interpretation of Scripture and in the writings of the Fathers, in chronology, grammar, and Latin verse.

At Barking.

Wimborne, founded by Cuthburh, a sister of Ine, and the wife of Ealdhelm's friend, Aldfrith of Northumbria, was doing good work in education in the time of the Abbess Tetta about 735. Like men's monasteries, the houses of women received youthful inmates, and it is not to be supposed that all the young girls admitted into a convent, whether simply for education, or that they might in time become novices, and finally professed sisters, at once took kindly to a studious and monastic life. At Wimborne the prioress tried to enforce discipline by punishment, and treated the poor girls with severity. When, as it happened, she died, they rejoiced, and with mingled spite and gladness fell to dancing on her grave, and kicked away the newly-made mound and half a foot of earth below it. Tetta, though much shocked, does not appear to have been hard on the young offenders, whom she brought to a better mind by exhortation, prayer, and penance.

The school at Wimborne.

They soon had a more lovable teacher, the illustrious Lioba, or in English, Leobgyth, a kinswoman of Boniface, who, it is said, was rightly called Leobgyth, for it signified the Beloved. Constant in prayer and in reading the Scriptures, she would never in girlhood listen to irreverent conversation or take part in the frivolous amusements of the

St. Lioba.

other young maidens of the house, and, when not engaged in reading, would work with her hands. While still young, she sent Boniface a graceful letter telling him that she had learnt to write Latin verses from her former mistress Eadburh, perhaps the Abbess of Minster, and enclosing him a specimen of her skill. She became a teacher, and probably the prioress, at Wimborne, and before long was summoned to take part in her kinsman's work in Germany.

At the date of Ealdhelm's death, in 709, the boy who had helped Ceolfrith to sing the antiphons in the plague-time at Jarrow had grown to be a man, and had begun to write books. Bede, or Bæda, who was born in 673, and was presented to the abbot Benedict Biscop when seven years old, spent his whole life in Benedict's monastery, dwelling, as it seems, at Jarrow. His youth was passed in the study of the Scriptures, in taking part in the services of the church, and the other duties of the convent, and in reading, for which the splendid library of the house gave him special opportunities. He was ordained deacon at nineteen, and priest at thirty, at the request of Abbot Ceolfrith, by John of Beverley, then Bishop of Hexham, in whose diocese the monastery was. From that time onwards he was in the habit of making notes on the Scriptures, either from the works of the Fathers, or in accordance with their interpretations. "I have ever," he says, "found my pleasure in learning, teaching, or writing." That is the summary of his life, quiet and uneventful, scholarly, unselfish, and shining more and more unto the perfect day. No great Scriptorium, such as existed in many later monasteries, would be found at Jarrow, and Bede studied in his own little cell, and with small help from others; for he did all his own writing, made his shorthand notes himself, and copied out his own work. The united convent numbered six hundred brethren, besides strangers who visited it for the sake of instruction, so that, though comparatively few of the monks could have been fitted by previous education, or could have been spared from the daily work of the house, to profit by Bede's teaching, his scholars must have been many. They regarded him with tender affection; he was their "most beloved master," they his "dearest sons."

Bede, 673-735.

His learning, which was derived through Benedict from

Rome and Lerins, rather than from Canterbury, may be said to have embraced all the knowledge of his day. He knew Latin and Greek and something of Hebrew, and, though he held that pagan literature was profitless to the soul, and might even be injurious to a Christian man, he had studied it, and quotes from many Latin authors, both of the Augustan and later times, and specially from Virgil. In his Commentaries on the Scriptures he shows an extent of theological reading which is nothing less than amazing. Being wholly devoid of pride, and only anxious to help others by setting before them the best comments he could find, he makes no attempt at originality, and some of his Commentaries consist wholly of quotations. He wrote on Church order, and composed homilies and hymns. A "penitential" has been ascribed to him, though not on any certain grounds. Early in life he wrote books for his pupils, on grammar, rhetoric, and Latin metres. Natural science attracted him, he studied Pliny, and the work on the *Nature of Things* written by Isidore of Seville in 612, and his book *De natura rerum* represents the then state of learning on the subject. He was skilled in arithmetic and chronology, which he studied for ecclesiastical purposes.

His learning.

Here Bede's historical work must receive special honour. Great as his learning was in science and grammar, it has long become obsolete; his historical writings are still of the highest value, for they contain the chief, almost the only, records of the early history of our own people, and of the lives of the saintly men and women who adorned the infancy of our Church. So long as history is studied, so long as any sense of literary excellence remains among us, they will lose nothing of their honour. Historically, the most important of them is his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People;* his exquisite *Lives of the Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow*, and his *Life of St. Cuthbert* are founded on still extant anonymous works. Written in clear and unaffected language, the *Ecclesiastical History* presents a vivid picture of the author's character; it exhibits his deep piety, his love of truth, his catholic spirit and generous admiration of all that was good in those who differed from him—his omission of some of Wilfrith's best actions

His historical writings.

being a solitary exception to this general fairness of treatment —his tenderness of heart, and his appreciation of moral beauty. He took pains to collect information from the best sources, constantly quotes his authorities, and when he records anything derived from mere hearsay, is careful to let his readers know it. As a story-teller he is unrivalled, and the later historian blushes to mar the pathos or dim the brightness of Bede's narratives by his own imperfect reproductions. The book, which was finished in 731, at once received the honour it deserved, and made Benedict's monastery famous throughout Western Christendom. It became the basis of the entries relating to the earlier events recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle; it was translated into English under Alfred's direction, and in its original form was largely used by our mediæval historians. Although Bede was so industrious a student, he would not allow his work to keep him from attending all the convent services. "I know," he is reported to have said, "that angels come to the canonical hours and the meetings of the brethren. What if they did not find me among the brethren? Would they not say, Where is Bede? Why comes he not with the brethren to the appointed prayers?"

The story of Bede's death is told in a letter of Cuthbert, a monk, and afterwards abbot of the united convent. From a fortnight before the Easter of 735, his strength failed, though he still taught his scholars, chanted psalms by day, and spent much of his nights in prayer. Often, too, for he was skilled in the poetry of his native tongue, he would sing some English verses which bade men ponder on what lay before them, ere they set out on the journey that all needs must go. In spite of increasing weakness he laboured on, desiring much to finish a translation of St. John's Gospel into English, and some extracts from the works of Bishop Isidore; for, "I would not," he said, "that after I am gone, my children should read a lie, and labour in vain." At the dawn of the Wednesday before Ascension Day, he bade the brethren who were with him write diligently, and they wrote by his side until the third hour (9 A.M.), when they were called to the rogation procession. His boy-scribe Wilbert, who was left with him, said, "There is only one chapter wanting in the book thou hast been dictating, and it is hard

Bede's death, 735.

for thee to be questioned further." "It is easy," he answered; "take thy pen, mend it, and write quickly." In the afternoon he sent for the priests of the house, and distributed among them his little treasures—some pepper, napkins, and incense—begging them to be diligent in saying masses and prayers for him, and as they wept because they would behold his face no more in this life, he told them that his soul longed to see "Christ, my King, in His beauty." So he passed the hours in gladness, his boy Wilbert writing by him. Evening came, and Wilbert said, "Dear master, there is only one sentence more not written down." "It is well," he said, "write it." In a little while the boy said, "Now it is finished." He answered, "It is well, thou hast said the truth; it is finished. Take my head in thy hands, for I love to look on my holy place, where I have been wont to pray, and would call once more on my Father." Then, as he lay on the floor of his cell, he chanted the "Gloria Patri," and so chanting breathed his last. He died on May 25, 735, on the festival of the Ascension, for it was then reckoned as beginning at six in the evening of Wednesday.

The epithet "Venerable" was specially applied to Bede about a hundred years later. Of the legends as to its origin, only one is worth preserving for its beauty. It tells us that late in life Bede's eyes waxed dim that he could not see, and that one day certain evil jesters told him that there were people in the church waiting to hear the word of God, whereas there was no one save these mockers. So, ever anxious for the salvation of others, he went into the church and preached, not knowing that it was empty, and when he ended his sermon with a prayer, the blessed angels in the air responded to his words "Amen, very venerable Bede."[1]

A legend of Bede.

In 733, Bede visited Ecgbert, then probably Bishop-elect of York, who was a member of the royal house of Northumbria, and one of his old pupils. The next year Ecgbert was consecrated, and Bede wrote him a letter, of which more will be said hereafter, advising him to apply to

Ecgbert, Abp. of York, 735-766.

[1] *Chron. Min.* ap. Pertz, xxiv. 180. I owe this reference, and my first acquaintance with the legend, to the Rev. C. Plummer's edition of Bede's Historical Works, i. Introd. xlviii., but this is a small thing among the many benefits which I have received from the same source.

the pope that his see might be made metropolitan, and reminding him that his request would be supported by his cousin Ceolwulf, the Northumbrian king. Ceolwulf was a godly and learned man, well versed in the Scriptures and in the history of his people, and Bede had submitted his *Ecclesiastical History* to him for revision, dedicated it to him when finished, and sent it to him that he might have it copied. The gift of a pall from the pope was, by this time at least, held by the English Church to be necessary for the exercise of metropolitan authority. Tatwine, a learned and holy Mercian priest, who succeeded Bertwald at Canterbury in 731, received a pall, and on receiving it, consecrated two bishops. He was succeeded in 735 by Nothelm, a priest of London, who also received a pall, and immediately afterwards, and not before, consecrated bishops.

Meanwhile, in 735, Ecgbert received a pall at Rome from Gregory III., and thus became the first Archbishop of York, for Paulinus cannot be reckoned as having held that dignity. His power was increased by the accession of his brother Eadbert to the Northumbrian throne. Ceolwulf had a troubled reign. A revolt was made against him in 731, and he was forcibly tonsured; he was restored, but six years later voluntarily became a monk at Lindisfarne, and was succeeded by his cousin Eadbert. The two brothers worked in perfect concord, Eadbert ordering the civil, and Ecgbert the ecclesiastical, affairs of the kingdom, a partition of authority illustrated by extant coins which bear the legends both of the king and the archbishop. For thirty-two years Ecgbert ruled his church and province with wisdom and diligence. He adorned his church with goldsmiths' work, and with silken hangings woven in foreign lands, improved its music, and introduced the services of the canonical hours. Of the works ascribed to him, he certainly composed a *Pontifical*, a *Penitential*, and a *Dialogue* on ecclesiastical order.

Archbishop Ecgbert's chief claim on our remembrance is that, as a worthy disciple of Bede, he founded a school at York, on the Canterbury model. Like Theodore, he taught himself, giving instruction in the Scriptures, while his kinsman Æthelbert, Ethelbert, or Albert, whom he made master of his school, and "de- The York School.

fensor cleri," an office probably implying the administration of the property of the church and other secular affairs of the see, taught grammar, rhetoric, the art of calculation, and natural science. They had many scholars, and among them a young Northumbrian of noble birth named Alcuin, or Ealhwine as his name would be in English, who was destined to be their most famous pupil. Every day, from dawn to mid-day, except on holy days, when he would be engaged in divine service, Ecgbert would sit on his couch and instruct his scholars severally in the Scriptures. Then he would privately celebrate mass, would dine sparingly, and after dinner would listen while his scholars discussed literary questions. He would say compline with them, and after it was over would give his blessing to each one singly. Æthelbert visited Rome and Gaul in company with Alcuin, to collect books, and founded a library at York, which included books in Latin and Greek, the writings of the Fathers, and works of Aristotle, certainly in a Latin guise, of Virgil and Cicero, of many later Latin authors, and of Bede and Ealdhelm. The list of books given us by Alcuin, the earliest catalogue of an English library, illustrates the wide range of study pursued in the school of York. Eadbert resigned his crown to his son Osulf in 739, and became a monk at York. Archbishop Ecgbert died on November 19, 766, leaving the government of his school to Æthelbert, who succeeded him as archbishop the following year.

Under Æthelbert, who likewise received a pall, the York school apparently grew in prosperity, and scholars resorted to it from Gaul and Germany. Æthelbert virtually rebuilt the minster, which had been much injured by a fire, committing the oversight of the work to Alcuin, whom he ordained deacon, and another York scholar named Eanbald. In 780 he resigned his see, consecrated Eanbald as his successor, and entrusted his library to the care of Alcuin. The next year, when Alcuin was in Italy, whither he had been sent by Eanbald to fetch his pall, he met, not for the first time, the Frankish King, Charles the Great, or Charlemagne, who invited him to come and help him to educate his people. On his return to England he obtained leave to accept the king's invitation, and for the next eight years, with the exception of a visit to England in 787, he remained with Charles,

Alcuin, *d.* 804.

presiding over the palace school and organising other schools in monasteries and churches. Then he revisited England, but after about two years' stay was persuaded by Charles to return in 792, and again devoted himself to the promotion of education and religion in the king's wide dominions. He was joined by several friends and old pupils from England, who took part in his work. The benefits which Alcuin conferred on the peoples of the Frankish kingdom do not concern us here. Like Ealdhelm, he seems to have disliked the influence of the learned Scots, who were also teaching in the dominions of Charles; their speculative genius was opposed to his English temperament, and led more than one of them into error. He was himself a champion of orthodoxy and took a prominent part in the religious questions of Charles's reign. Though he spent so much of his life abroad, he loved his native land, took a deep interest in the affairs of the English Church, and ever remembered the school of York with special affection. Charles rewarded his services by the two abbacies of Ferrières and Troyes, though Alcuin was not a monk, and probably never became one, and was still only in deacon's orders. In 796 he retired from active life, and lived in the monastery of St. Martin, at Tours, of which he received the government, and where he died on May 19, 804. During the years of his absence from the court he carried on a correspondence with Charlemagne, a considerable part of which has come down to us. His intellectual and ecclesiastical achievements were the fruits of the religion and learning implanted by Benedict Biscop in his united monasteries, and handed on with increase by Bede to Ecgbert and his school at York, of which Alcuin was the supreme ornament. Before his death, evil days had come upon the church in the North. For convenience sake we have pursued the subject of the intellectual activity that adorned the English Church to a later period than that to which our narrative has brought us. We must now turn to the other wholesome interest which occupied the minds of many, and the lives of several, of the best members of the monastic order in England during the eighth century.

Missionary effort is the surest token of a lively faith which can be given by a Church, and it is therefore pleasant to find

that as soon as the evangelisation of the English was completed, and their Church had received organisation, many of both sexes were filled with a desire for the conversion of the heathen peoples of the continent who were near of kin to themselves. Wilfrith's mission work in Frisia was necessarily of short duration, and its immediate effects appear to have been evanescent, though it may be that, here and there, the seed which he sowed fell on good ground. Yet his visit at least bore fruit in turning the thoughts of his fellow-countrymen in that direction. Ecgbert, the Northumbrian, who in his youth accompanied Ceadda to Ireland, had, while there, fallen sick of the plague. He vowed that if he recovered he would not return to England, and would spend the rest of his life in the service of God among the Scots and Picts. From that time he lived as an ascetic, teaching the Irish among whom he dwelt, and gaining great influence among them, for he was gentle-spirited, holy, and humble of heart. About 687 he was seized with a desire to go and preach to the peoples from which the "Angles and Saxons of Britain were known to have derived their origin." As his vow prevented him from starting from England, he meant to sail round the island, and so reach the land of the Teutonic heathens. His companions were chosen, his ship was ready, and he was on the point of embarking, when a message, which he believed to be a divine command, and which seemed enforced by a violent storm, prevented him from sailing. One of the party that he had organised named Witbert, who had lived for many years as a hermit in Ireland, embarked without him, and landed in Frisia. The king Rathbod, unlike his predecessor Adelgis who had entertained Wilfrith, refused to listen to his preaching. For two years he laboured patiently and fruitlessly among the heathen, and then returned to Ireland, where he set himself to do good to his neighbours since he was not enabled to win strangers to the faith.

Missions. St. Ecgbert and Frisia.

Though Ecgbert gave up the idea of going himself to Frisia, and must have been disappointed at the failure of Witbert's mission, he did not relinquish his efforts for the conversion of the Frisians, and in 690 organised a mission of twelve Englishmen to preach

St. Willibrord, *b.* 658, *d.* 739?

to them. At the head of this party was Willibrord a Northumbrian, a man of great courage and wisdom. He had been brought up from infancy in Wilfrith's monastery at Ripon, and at the age of twenty had gone to Ireland to gain instruction in the Scriptures. He was in priest's orders, and was in his thirty-third year when he set out with his companions on the work which was dear to the heart of his old master Wilfrith. They landed at the mouth of the Rhine, and Willibrord, finding that Rathbod would not listen to his words, went to Pippin of Heristal, Duke of the Franks, who had conquered the south-western part of Frisia, and offered to go and preach there. Pippin willingly accepted his offer, and in 692 he went to Rome to obtain the approval of Pope Sergius. That the Christian missionary, while seeking the salvation of individuals, should regard the increase of the one Catholic and Apostolic Church, the kingdom of Christ on earth, as the aim of his life, may be gathered from the teaching of Christ Himself. It was thus that these early missionaries regarded their vocation, and as they recognised the pope as the spiritual head on earth of this Church, the guarantee of its unity, they sought his approval when they endeavoured to plant a church in a heathen land. Willibrord returned with many relics, which he intended should take the place of the idols of the Frisians.

After Willibrord had laboured for about three years among the conquered Frisians, Pippin sent him to Rome a second time, and at his request Sergius consecrated him as Archbishop of the Frisians, on November 22, 696, presenting him with a pall, and giving him the name of Clement, though he was, and still is, generally known by his English name. Besides carrying on his work in the part of Frisia which had been won by the Franks, he also preached to the unconquered Frisians, and showed extraordinary courage in destroying their idols. Once, while preaching in Heligoland, he baptized three converts in a spring sacred to Fosite, the guardian deity of the island. Enraged at this desecration, the people with Rathbod's sanction made him and his companions cast lots, to determine which of them should be sacrificed to appease the wrath of their gods. One of his company was martyred, and Willibrord was brought before Rathbod. He fearlessly told the king of his

Willibrord consecrated archbishop.

need of salvation, and Rathbod marvelled at his courage, and sent him in safety to Pippin. He made an attempt to convert the Danes, and when they would not hear him, took away with him thirty lads that he might educate them to be missionaries to their fellow-countrymen. As archbishop, he formed an organised church among the Frisians, consecrated assistant bishops, built monasteries and churches, and for each church ordained a priest, establishing a settled clergy and making a decided step towards a parochial system, such as was then growing up in England. In 703 or 704 he received a visit from his old master Wilfrith, who must have rejoiced greatly to see how one of his former pupils was gathering in an abundant harvest from a field in which he had himself been the first labourer. In the course of their conversation Willibrord told him that miracles had been wrought through some relics of King Oswald. The success of Willibrord's work was largely due to the support of the Franks, and was much increased by their completion of the conquest of Frisia. Rathbod died in 719, and Pippin then, if not before, gave Utrecht to Willibrord for the place of his see. He was highly esteemed both by Pippin and his son Charles Martel, who succeeded his father as Mayor of the Palace of the Austrasian kings, and at Charles's request he baptized his infant son Pippin, the future King of the Franks. Towards the end of his long life he consecrated a coadjutor to himself, retired from work, and died probably in 739, in his eighty-third year, at a monastery which he had founded at Epternach near Trèves.

Other missionaries.

During Willibrord's first visit to Rome, one of his companions named Swidbert was chosen by his brethren in Frisia to be consecrated as bishop; he returned to England in 692 or 693, and received consecration from Wilfrith, for Bertwald, the archbishop-elect, was then in Gaul, whither he had himself gone for consecration. For a while Swidbert had his see at Dorostat, or Wyk-by-Duurstede, on the Rhine, went thence to preach to the Bructeri, a people settled between the Lippe and the Ems, and turned many to Christianity. An invasion of the heathen Saxons scattered his converts, and Pippin, at the request of his wife Plectrude, gave him an island in the Rhine, the present Kaiserswerth, where he built a monastery. He died at Kaiserswerth in 713, and

there, in the romanesque church, relics of him still remain in a silver shrine. The country about Elst in Betuwe was evangelised by Werenfrid. One of Willibrord's companions, named Adalbert, or Æthelbert, laboured with much success at Egmond in Holland, and Wira, whose name is mentioned by Alcuin in connection with Swidbert, and who may also have been one of the missionaries sent out by Ecgbert with Willibrord, is said to have preached in the country about Ruremond.

Acting independently of Ecgbert's mission, and apparently at about the same time that it went forth, two English priests, both named Hewald, and distinguished according to the colour of their hair as Black and White Hewald, who had spent some years in study in Ireland, went together with some others as missionaries to the old Saxon land. Leaving their companions, the two Hewalds went to the reeve of a certain township and asked him to bring them to the ealdorman of the tribe, for they had a message for him. This the reeve promised to do, and they abode some days in his guest-house. It soon became noised abroad that they were of a different religion, for every day they sang psalms, and prayed, and celebrated mass on a portable altar which they had brought with them. The country people were much excited, for they feared that, if the strangers were received by the ealdorman, they might convert him to Christianity, and that so the worship of their gods might be endangered. They determined to prevent this danger, fell upon the missionaries suddenly on October 3, and put them both to death, White Hewald being slain at a blow, and Black Hewald with long and cruel torture. Their bodies were thrown into the Rhine, and floated down to the place where their companions were staying. They were found by one of them named Tilmon, a man of noble birth who had given up a warrior's life to become a monk, and were buried by him. When Pippin heard of their martyrdom, he caused their bodies to be taken up and buried them with great honour in the church of Cologne. The larger number at least of these missionaries appear to have been natives of Northumbria.

The two Hewalds.

Wessex also bore a good part in missionary enterprise, which was evidently dear to Bishop Daniel, for thence came Winfrith

or St. Boniface, the Apostle of Germany, and many of his fellow-helpers. Winfrith, whose parents were of noble race, was born at Crediton about 680, and, like Bede, was presented at seven years of age to the abbot of Exeter, where he entered the monastic order. He transferred himself to the abbey of Nutsall near Winchester, and there entered fully into the intellectual movement in Wessex promoted by Ealdhelm, for he became skilled in grammar, rhetoric, and music. Having been ordained priest at the age of thirty, he was chosen by the West Saxon abbots to attend a synod of Archbishop Bertwald, and must have known that in his own land ecclesiastical dignity was certain to come to him. But he gave up all for mission work, and, possibly in 716, sailed with two or three fellow-monks to Frisia. As Rathbod was then making war on Charles Martel, and was destroying churches throughout the country, missionary work was impossible, and Winfrith, after a fruitless interview with the heathen king, returned to his English monastery. In a year or two he determined to renew his attempt, and taking with him a commendatory letter from Bishop Daniel, went to Rome to Gregory II., who gave him his blessing and sent him as a missionary to the Germans. He preached in Thuringia, where the people, though nominally Christian, had fallen into evil practices, and the clergy were uncanonical in life and unsound in doctrine. On the death of Rathbod in 719, he again went to Frisia, and stayed there three years helping Archbishop Willibrord. He refused Willibrord's offer to consecrate him as his bishop-coadjutor and successor, because he desired to perform the work entrusted to him by the pope. Accordingly he left Frisia, and preached to the heathen Hessii.

St. Boniface, the Apostle of Germany, *b.* 680, *d.* 755.

Winfrith again visited Rome in 723. Gregory gave him instructions for his future work, and consecrated him "regionary" bishop, that is, a bishop without a see. On his consecration he took an oath of obedience to the Roman see, founded on the oath taken by the bishops of Italy, and probably also at that time received from the pope the name of Boniface. He returned to his labours among the Hessii, and, finding their pagan superstition hard to overcome, took the tremendous step of hewing down the sacred oak of Thor at

Boniface consecrated bishop.

Geismar, in the presence of a crowd of heathens. This courageous act met with its reward in the conversion of the beholders, and Boniface and his companions built a chapel in honour of St. Peter out of the wood of the huge tree. Boniface kept up a constant correspondence with his friends in England, where the progress of his work was watched with deep interest. Among his English correspondents were Archbishops Nothelm and his successor Cuthbert, and Ecgbert of York, Bishop Daniel, several abbesses and specially Eadburh or Bugge, abbess of Minster, his kinswoman Leobgyth, and her sisters in religion at Wimborne, Tecla and Cynehild. He and they ask for one another's prayers, he tells them of his wants, asking for a copy of the prophetical books of the Bible in large handwriting, because his sight was bad, for Bede's minor works, and other books; he thanks them for their gifts, and sends them presents in return.

In spite of much opposition Boniface succeeded in reforming the church in Thuringia. Gregory III. made him an archbishop, still without a see, and papal legate, and he was the valued friend of the house of Pippin of Heristal, of Charles Martel, Carloman, and Pippin the Short, whom, in accordance with the command of Pope Zachary, he crowned king of the Franks at Soissons in 751. The power of the Frankish house in Southern and Central Germany owed much to the influence of Boniface, and there, as in Frisia, Christian missionaries and Frankish rulers worked in full accord. This, however, only concerns us here in so far as it explains the dominant position which Boniface held in Germany. He founded four bishoprics in Bavaria, held councils of the German province, and in 743 fixed his archiepiscopal see at Mainz. Many men and women of the monastic order came to him from England, and specially from his own West Saxon land, to help him in his work of evangelisation and ecclesiastical reform. One party under the charge of a priest-monk named Witbert seems to have been sent out from Glastonbury, and Witbert in writing to the convent to announce their safe arrival asks them to send his news to Abbess Tetta at Wimborne. Tetta had a deep interest in these missions, for Leobgyth, or Lioba, possibly at that very time joined her kinsman in Germany, and with her went Tecla and

His English fellow-workers.

perhaps also Cynehild. Of two of the West Saxon helpers of Boniface, the brothers Willibald and Wunebald, we have memoirs written by an English nun of Heidenheim, who was related to them. Willibald, who was brought up from infancy in an abbey at Bishop's Waltham, in Hampshire, was a great traveller. In company with his brother, he visited Rome. Wunebald stayed there, and after some years joined Boniface in Thuringia. Willibald, however, set off with two other friends, and journeyed to Sicily, Ephesus, Cyprus, and Palestine. They bathed in the Jordan, and stayed for a time in Jerusalem, where they visited the holy places, and among them the Holy Sepulchre, "a square house cut out of the rock with a chapel above it." After a tour of seven years Willibald returned to Rome, and, in obedience to a request of Gregory III., went to help Boniface.

Some of these English fellow-workers Boniface consecrated as bishops, and others he set over monasteries. Lul, or Lullus, who had been brought up from childhood in the abbey of Malmesbury, and had worked with him for many years, he made his coadjutor at Mainz; Burchard he consecrated Bishop of Würzburg; Willibald, the traveller, Bishop of Eichstätt; and Wittan, Bishop of Buraberg in Hesse. Wunebald became abbot of Heidenheim, where he was succeeded by his sister, whose English name Walburh appears as Walpurga, and has, in some strange way, become connected with witches' festivals, but there were perhaps other saints of the same name, and one of them may have given her name to the Walpurgis night. Lul's aunt Chunihilt and her daughter Bertgith, both skilled in secular learning, Boniface made teachers and probably abbesses in Thuringia; Chunitrud taught the Scriptures in Bavaria, Tecla he appointed abbess of Kitzingen, and Lioba abbess of Bischofsheim on the Tauber. As abbess, Lioba gathered round her a large number of disciples, and many of them were chosen to rule other German convents. She ever had the Scriptures in her hands, studied them diligently and lectured on them, and on the works of the Fathers, the canons of the Church, and the Latin language. Beautiful in person we are told she was, and she was not less lovely in spirit, for she was humble and kind as well as wise and learned, she ruled by love and was never

Their work in Germany.

provoked to harsh words. While she was hospitable and careful for the comfort of others, she herself ate and drank sparingly, and the small cup that she used was called in her house "the Beloved's little one." Boniface regarded her with deep affection, and often visited her; her influence was widespread, and she was highly esteemed by Charles the Great and his queen Hildegard. She died in 780, probably on September 28, the day on which she is commemorated.

The martyrdom of St. Boniface.

In his old age Boniface longed once again to preach the Gospel to the Frisians, the people of his earliest mission, many of whom were still heathens. He resigned the administration of his province to Lul, and taking with him a band of clergy, some of them certainly of English birth, journeyed through the marshes of Frisia and preached in its scattered villages. Many believed on his words, and on June 5, 755, he had arranged to confirm a large number of newly-baptized persons at Dokkum, near the Lauwers Zee. Soon after sunrise on that day he was told that a heathen force was advancing against him. He called his clergy round him, ordered them to bear in procession the relics which he always carried with him, and went forth from his tent with them to meet his enemies. The younger men of his company, which numbered fifty in all, wished to fight for their lives, but he forbade them, saying that they were taught in Scripture not to render evil for evil. He exhorted them to be of good courage; death would be short, they would soon reign with Christ for ever. He and nearly all his company were slain by the heathen. His body was buried in the church of Fulda in the monastery that he had founded. A relic of him still remains in the crypt of the cathedral church of Fulda, and his crosier is also preserved there. He was a man of no common order, at once a saint, a statesman, and a scholar. As a missionary, he was courageous and indefatigable; as a prelate, skilful in organisation and firm of purpose. The oath of obedience which he took to the Roman see was strongly expressed and unreserved, and as the founder and first spiritual ruler of the German Church, he brought it into close connection with the papacy. Apart from any consideration of the effects which the relation thus created with Rome may have had upon the course of German history in later ages, his

action in this respect gave the Church which he created a standard of orthodox faith and practice, and prevented it from becoming a mere handmaid to the Carolingian House. To the English Church he was ever a loving and dutiful son; he watched its fortunes with anxiety, and looked to its bishops and councils for advice; he was cheered by the sympathy and strengthened by the prayers of its members, and was nobly supported by the devotion of those whom it sent to help him in his work.

Yet another English missionary did great things for the continental kinsfolk of his people. A Northumbrian priest named Willehad, anxious for the salvation of those for whom Boniface laid down his life, landed in Frisia in 770 and settled in the very place where the archbishop and his companions were martyred. There he stayed for several years doing good work, both among Christians and heathens; he baptized many, and made excursions with his followers into the surrounding country, preaching and breaking idols. At last he was forced to flee for his life, and took shelter with Charles, or Charlemagne, who welcomed him gladly. The king was determined not to suffer the Saxons, whose lands stretched from beyond the Elbe almost to the Rhine, to remain heathen, and since 772 had made attempts to force Christianity upon them by war. In Willehad he saw a useful ally, and he sent him in 779 to preach the Gospel to the Saxon people settled between the Elbe and the Weser, about Bremen, where he had much success. When the Saxons rebelled against Charles under the leadership of Widukind in 782, many of his converts were slain, and he left the country. He visited Rome, where he was comforted and encouraged by Hadrian I., and then went into retreat in Willibrord's monastery at Epternach. Charles put down the rebellion of the Saxons after three years of bloody war, and in 785 Willehad again returned to his labours among them. Widukind made his peace with Charles, was baptized by Willehad, and is said thenceforward to have been zealous for the spread of Christianity. On June 13, 787, Charles caused Willehad to be consecrated Bishop at Worms, and fixed his see at Bremen. He at once began the work of ecclesiastical organisation, but his time was short. He died

St. Willehad, *b.* 730? *d.* 789.

on November 8, 789, a week after the dedication of his cathedral church.

Such, and so great, was the work done among the heathen for Christ's sake by members of the English Church in its early days. Of the peoples of Western Europe none received the Gospel with more gladness than the English, and among none was it spread by worthier means. The wars and massacres by which Charles forced Christianity upon the Saxons stand in strong contrast to the means by which the faith of Christ won its victories over the English. Nowhere was the preaching of that faith followed by nobler results than in England, and no church was so quickly or so richly adorned by saintly and learned men and women as the English Church, or was so eager to spread the kingdom of Christ in other lands. Conclusion.

The death of Bede in 735 may perhaps be taken as marking the close of what may be called the heroic period in our church's history. Wise and holy men survived him, and others came after them, but, speaking generally, few, with the exception of those who went forth as missionaries to the heathen, seem to have attained to the measure of those who went before them. Nor were they equally happy in their times, for the love and simplicity of early days began to fade, and they were called upon to contend against evil both within the ecclesiastical orders and external to them. Bede, however, lived the quiet life of a scholar, and the year of his death can only arbitrarily be chosen as the date of a change which was of gradual growth, and of which some signs appear earlier, and were lamented over by Bede himself. The learning and the missionary zeal which saved English monasticism from the danger of sinking into a selfish and inactive asceticism by providing the best members of the monastic order with lofty and unselfish interests, have been followed out in this chapter without regard to the general course of the history of the Church. We must in our next chapter go back to note how the progress of the Church was often hindered, and how it struggled, not always successfully, to reform abuses in its own order and ministers, and to resist the evils of the world in which it was placed.

AUTHORITIES.—On the danger which threatened English monasticism before 669, see Bp. Stubbs's Introd. to *Memorials of Richard I.* vol. ii., *Epp. Cantuar.*, Rolls ser. For much concerning monastic learning and early missions, see Bede's *Historical Works*, ed. Plummer, u.s. Ealdhelm's Works (*Aldhelmi Opera*) are edited by Giles in his *Patres Eccl. Angl.* u.s. The best account of Bede and his works is given by the Rev. C. Plummer in the Introduction to his edition of *Bede*, which contains a translation of the Letter of Cuthbert narrating Bede's death; the letter itself is in Symeon of Durham's *Hist. Dunelm. Eccl.*, Rolls ser., and is printed by Plummer and Stevenson. For the grant of the pall to Ecgbert of York see Bede's *Epistola ad Ecgbertum* in Plummer's *Bede* and in *Councils and Eccl. Docs.* iii. 314-326, and Symeon of Durham's *Hist. Regum*, an. 735, Rolls ser. For Archbishop Ecgbert's work and the York school see Alcuin's *Carmen de Pontiff Ebor.* and his *Epistolæ*, ap. *Monumenta Alcuiniana*, ed. Jaffé, Berlin, 1873, which contains materials for Alcuin's Life, and Raine's *Fasti Eboracenses*, London, 1863. For the schools of handwriting see Sir E. M. Thompson's *Greek and Latin Palæography*, London, 1893, International Scientific Ser. No. 73, and more briefly his art. "Palæography" in *Encycl. Brit.* 9th ed.; and on the textual value of Codex Amiatinus and C. Laud. see Scrivener's *Introduction to the Criticism of the N. Test.*, ed. Rev. E. Miller, London, 1894, 4th ed. The best edition of the *De Nuptiis Philologiæ et Mercurii* of Martianus Capella is by Dr. F. Eyfsenhardt, Leipsic, 1866; its effects on Latinity in south-west Britain are pointed out by Dr. Zimmer in his *Nennius Vindicatus*, p. 330, Berlin, 1893. The story of Ecgbert the priest is told by Bede. The Life of Willibrord is written by Alcuin, see *Mon. Alc.* u.s. Swidbert's acts are recorded in a spurious Life of no value; all we know of him comes from Bede and Alcuin, the date of his death being supplied by the eighth cent. *Annales Franc.* ap. *Recueil des Historiens*, ii. 641. For Werenfrid see *AA. SS.*, Bolland, Aug. vi. 102 sq., and for Adalbert, *AA. SS. O.S.B.*, Mabillon, sæc. v. pt. i. 586. A Life of Boniface and his *Passio* written by Willibald, a priest of Mainz, for Abp. Lul, and another Life by Othlo of the eleventh cent., together with the Letters of Boniface and Lul, are in *Monumenta Moguntina*, ed. Jaffé, Berlin, 1866. Lives of Bp. Willibald, Wunebald, Lul, and Lioba are in *AA. SS. O.S.B.*, Mabillon, sæc. iii. pt. ii. The original authority for the acts of Willehad is his Life by Abp. Anschar (*d.* 865), printed by Pertz in *Mon. Germ. Hist.* ii. 378 sq., and elsewhere, see also Adam of Bremen's *Gesta Pont. Hammaburg. Eccl.* ap. Pertz, u.s. vii. 267 sq. Some excellent articles, and specially that on St. Boniface by Bp. Stubbs, in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* have been found useful, and should be consulted for fuller information. Miss Eckenstein's *Woman under Monasticism*, c. iv., Cambridge, 1896, gives a good account of the religious women who corresponded with Boniface.

CHAPTER XII

EVIL INFLUENCES

BEDE makes many references in his writings to the degeneracy of his times, and, though it must be remembered that a man of his deep spirituality of mind would naturally be inclined to magnify any decline in piety and religious activity, the definite character of his complaints and the course which things took in later years alike assure us that he did not speak without good cause. Shortly before his death, he wrote fully to Ecgbert of York on the evils which he saw were existing in the Church in Northumbria. His visit to Ecgbert, in 733, was undertaken for the purpose of study, and he hoped to repeat it the next year. Failing health prevented him, and on November 5, 734, he wrote to his friend and former pupil the letter on the need of ecclesiastical reformation noticed in our last chapter. First, as regards the clergy, he urges that bishops should be more careful in choosing their attendants, for some bishops surrounded themselves with men who were given to folly, feasting, and drink. Bede had himself suffered from some unguarded talk that had been permitted in the presence of his own diocesan Wilfrith, when Bishop of Hexham. Certain country-bred monks, while sitting at table with the bishop, had talked of Bede's work on chronology entitled *De Temporibus*, and one of them had declared that it was heretical. That such men should be talking about a book of chronology while sitting at their drink, illustrates the widespread interest which was taken by the monastic order in matters of learning. Bede wrote a letter to Plegwin, one of his friends at Hexham,

Bede's letter to Ecgbert.

to be shown to Wilfrith, proving how baseless the charge was.

In his letter to Ecgbert, Bede reminds the bishop that there were villages in his diocese without priests, and he exhorts him to ordain men to them that they might preach, celebrate the holy mysteries, and baptize. He would have the bishop take care that they preached the Catholic faith, and specially taught the Apostles' creed and the Lord's Prayer. Even among the monks and clergy there were ignorant men who did not understand Latin, and for this reason Bede says that he had translated the Creed and the Lord's Prayer into English. His complaint as to villages lacking priests shows that the parochial system was becoming general, and that godly men considered it scandalous that a village should not have its own priest.

Need of more parish priests,

He was not satisfied with the efficiency of the Northumbrian episcopate. There were, he declares, many villages in the mountainous parts of Ecgbert's diocese which for years had not been visited by a bishop, and remained without learned preaching and without the rite of confirmation, though the episcopal tribute was levied everywhere. What Bede says about preaching shows us that the country clergy were as a rule unlearned, and that rudimentary teaching only was to be expected from them. He says that the bishops neglected to make a yearly visitation of their dioceses, which were, indeed, too large for that, nor were the bishops willing that their dioceses should be subdivided, because subdivision would diminish their wealth. More bishoprics, however, were urgently needed, and King Ceolwulf, Bede said, would be willing to create them if Ecgbert applied to him. Let him strive to have Pope Gregory's plan carried out in the North. As Bishop of York he should apply for a pall that his see might become metropolitan, and he would have him then cause his province to be divided into twelve bishoprics. By this means ample provision would be made for the spiritual care of the people.

and of episcopal supervision.

It was hard to say where new sees could be established, for former kings had, Bede says, made such reckless grants to monasteries that the churches which were most fit to be made cathedral churches were already appropriated. To meet this

difficulty, he proposed that the new sees should be placed in existing monasteries, and in order to overcome any objection which a convent might have to such a use of its church, he suggested that the bishop should be elected by the monks, and should rule his diocese in conjunction with them. This plan of joint diocesan administration would scarcely have found favour except with those who, like its author, belonged to the monastic order; it seems to exhibit the influence of the Scots' system, though it was, of course, different from it, and if it had been adopted would certainly have led to the subordination of bishops to monastic superiors.

New sees to be placed in monasteries.

A monastery that received a bishop's see would, as Bede said, probably need an increase of revenue; its expenses in hospitality would certainly be greater. This he would have provided by annexing to it some so-called monasteries which were monastic only in name. Of these there were many in Northumbria, of no profit, as he says, either to God or man, for God was not honoured in them and they sent no men to the defence of the kingdom against barbarian invasion. The barbarians of whom he speaks were the Picts, who had threatened Northumbria ever since the overthrow of Ecgfrith at Nectansmere. Some pretended monasteries he would have suppressed. In many of them young nobles were brought up who, on reaching manhood, remained in them, idle and unmarried, but leading evil lives, and even corrupting consecrated virgins, a form of iniquity of which we hear a good deal. Full of evil consequences was the custom of regarding monasteries founded by laymen on their hereditary estates as their private and heritable property. A provision in the privilege granted by Wihtred to the Kentish monasteries, and accepted and confirmed by Æthelbald of Mercia in a council held at Clovesho in 742, seems directed against this abuse, which was closely connected with the tendency to treat abbacies as pertaining to the families of founders. Under pretence of founding monasteries, rich laymen would obtain grants of lands of inheritance from kings and their witan, and, though continuing to live with their wives, would make themselves lords of convents composed of renegade

Pseudo-monasteries.

monks and worn-out henchmen. So, too, they would set up monasteries for their wives, who without taking monastic vows would make themselves rulers of religious women. The evil had gone on in Northumbria for about thirty years, ever since the death of Aldfrith in 705, and there was scarcely a man of wealth and importance who did not hold the lordship of a monastery. Now and then one of them did receive the tonsure, but he did not become one of the brethren of a convent, but straightway abbot of his own house.

It was Ecgbert's duty, Bede urged, to make most diligent inquiry into the state of every monastery in his diocese, and particularly as to the conduct of their rulers, both abbots and abbesses, "specially as I hear," he says, "that you bishops are wont to assert that to hold an inquiry of that sort is the right of a bishop and not of a king." His words seem to point to the perpetual antagonism which existed between bishops and the monastic order, of which something has already been said. A bishop was far more likely to interfere with a monastery, whether by an unfair exercise of his authority, or by an attempt to enforce wholesome discipline, than a king, who would, as a rule, be content to know that his name was inscribed as a benefactor in its "book of life," that he had a right to the prayers of the convent and the support that the good word of the monks would give him in his kingdom. Bede was too thoroughly a monk not to share, at all events to some extent, in the feelings of his order, but with him the good of the Church came before everything. The evils that he lamented proceeded from the action of great men, royal officers, and the like, and from the carelessness of kings who did not check their ill-doings, and, therefore, as he knew that Ecgbert claimed, and would doubtless exercise, jurisdiction over the monasteries in his diocese, he would have him use his power for the good of monasticism and of the Church at large. He again impresses upon him the duty of providing for the religious instruction of the laity, and observes with regret that, instead of the practice of daily communion, many even of the more religious communicated only at Christmas, Epiphany, and Easter. Towards the end of his letter he speaks of the sin of avarice which had spread even among the monks,

The bishop's duty respecting them.

The monastic obligation to poverty was often disregarded, and men under religious vows not only kept, but even added to, their possessions.

Bede's letter is mainly a cry for more efficient episcopal administration, which he thought might be secured by an increase in the Northumbrian episcopate. At the date at which it was written there were four Northumbrian bishoprics,—York, Lindisfarne, Hexham, and Whitern. The see of Whitern, the scene of the labours of St. Ninian, had been established shortly before 731, when Pecthelm appears as its first occupant. Though the Northumbrians lost the Pictish land on the Firth of Forth by their defeat at Nectansmere in 686, they still remained masters of the Picts in Galloway, and, as they had increased in number there, a bishop was consecrated for them. Five English bishops sat at Whitern before 803, when, the Northumbrian power having fallen into decay, the line came to an end. As Bede hoped, Ecgbert of York became archbishop, but no addition was made to the northern episcopate. Even had it been otherwise, further reform would have been necessary, for it is evident that Bede was not satisfied with the bishops of his time.

The Northumbrian bishops, 705-734.

Yet the Northumbrian bishops of the last thirty years of his life were excellent men. At York, John of Hexham, who succeeded Bosa in 705, was famed for his holiness, and miracles were attributed to him. He seems to have gone about his diocese performing episcopal acts, and he founded a minster and a house for nuns at Inderawood, on the Hull, later known as Beverley, whence he is usually called John of Beverley. Thither, when he grew too old for further work, he retired in 718, after consecrating as his successor a second Wilfrith, who had, like himself, been a scholar in the monastery of Whitby. Wilfrith II. was, we are told, diligent in preaching, spent his revenues on the adornment of his minster and other churches, and in charity, and was universally honoured and beloved. He, too, ended his days in retirement, and was succeeded by Ecgbert in 732. At Hexham, Wilfrith I. was succeeded by his faithful follower Acca, who carried on the work of his former master. He completed and adorned the churches built by Wilfrith at and

Of York and Hexham.

near Hexham ; he was skilful in song, brought a singer named Maban, who had been trained at Canterbury, to teach his clergy the Roman method of chanting, and collected a large library of books, Lives of the Saints, and other religious works. He was deposed from his see, probably in 732, perhaps on account of some opposition to the scheme for the restoration of metropolitan dignity to York.

Of Lindisfarne.

At Lindisfarne, St. Cuthbert was succeeded by Eadfrith, chiefly known as the writer of the Lindisfarne gospels, and for his devotion to his predecessor's memory. He died in 721, and, after a vacancy of three years, was succeeded by Æthelwald or Ethelwold, in earlier life one of Cuthbert's attendants, a skilful artist, who caused the splendid cover of the Lindisfarne gospels to be wrought by an anchoret named Bilfrith, a famous goldsmith, and had a fine cross erected at Lindisfarne. Such were the bishops of Northumbria during the period marked in Bede's eyes by the rise of abuses which should have been checked by episcopal control, men not lightly to be condemned as though they winked at abuses, especially as the evils of which Bede complains were not confined to Northumbria. It may be that the lives of these bishops were too exclusively monastic, and were consequently not conducive to good diocesan administration ; for it is obvious that a bishop might be a pattern of monastic virtue, and yet be hindered by the hold which monastic life had upon him from ruling his diocese efficiently.

Wicked kings.

Another cause of trouble in the Church is pointed out by St. Boniface, who speaks of the mischief wrought by wicked kings. He says that ecclesiastical privileges were first violated in the reigns of Osred of Northumbria (705-717) and Ceolred of Mercia (709-716), thus agreeing with Bede, so far as Northumbria was concerned, in taking the death of Aldfrith as marking the beginning of a period of trouble. Osred, whom we have seen as a child presiding over the council on the Nidd, in the first year of his reign, grew into a wild and dissolute youth ; he oppressed his nobles, and forced consecrated women to minister to his lusts. Ceolred also broke into monasteries and committed like iniquities. Both came to an evil end. Osred was slain by his

kinsfolk, and Ceolred was seized with sudden madness while feasting with his nobles, and died miserably. Under such kings as these, ecclesiastical property and institutions were abused, and religion naturally declined. The letter in which Boniface speaks of the wickedness of these kings was written to Ceolred's successor Æthelbald, urging him to reform his life.

Æthelbald had been banished from Mercia during the reign of Ceolred, and while in exile had visited a hermit named Guthlac, who was believed to have the gift of prophecy. Though the desire for a solitary life spent in ascetic practices, which was so common in the saints of the Scots, was becoming less general among the English, it was still powerful in some persons of ecstatic temperament, and led them to adopt the lives of hermits or anchorets. Though these terms are often used synonymously, a distinction should be made between them. The anchoret or recluse, male or female, was immured in a cell or anchorage, often built near some monastery or church; the hermit was free to leave his cell, which was usually placed in a more or less lonely spot, and wander whither he would. The distinction, however, was not clearly observed in these early times, and Guthlac is called a hermit and an anchoret indifferently. He was the son of a Mercian noble, and his youth was spent in wild forays. Suddenly the thought of how soon death put an end to all earthly things came forcibly to his mind, and he entered the double monastery of Repton, then under the rule of an abbess named Ælfthryth, or Elfrida. For a while his fellow-monks were annoyed with him because he would not drink with them, for on receiving the tonsure he made a vow of total abstinence.

St. Guthlac, *d.* 714.

After spending two years at Repton, he obtained permission to become a hermit, and journeyed until he came to an uninhabited island in the fen-country about the rivers Nen and Welland. This was Crowland, in the south of the present Lincolnshire. There he dwelt with two followers from Repton, amid sluggish waters and fever-haunted marshes, contending with evil spirits which appeared, as he believed, in bodily forms. On one occasion, at any rate, the intruders seem to have been Britons, some of the conquered race who had found shelter, and either preserved or

Guthlac at Crowland.

regained their freedom, in that desolate district. A few miles from his dwelling his sister Pega lived in a cell as a female hermit, but he refused to see her until they should meet in heaven. The fame of his sanctity brought crowds of men of every degree to visit him, bishops and nobles, rich and poor; and to all alike he spoke profitable words, for he was in truth a holy man and well versed in the Scriptures. After his death, his island was the site of a monastic settlement which became a famous abbey. When Æthelbald came to visit him, Guthlac told him that he should speedily and peaceably succeed to the Mercian throne, and his words were fulfilled soon afterwards on the death of Ceolred.

Under the rule of Æthelbald the Mercian kingdom entered on a period of greatness which, though marked by many religious foundations, was not conducive to the true welfare of the Church. Æthelbald gained supremacy over the whole of England, south of the Humber, and for a time completely abased the kingdom of the West Saxons, though a few years before the end of his reign they inflicted a severe defeat upon him. In ecclesiastical as well as civil affairs he acted as the head king of Southern England, and his predominant influence may be discerned in the election of three archbishops of Canterbury,—of Tatwine a priest from a Mercian monastery, of Nothelm a priest of London, then under Mercian rule, and, in 740, of Cuthbert who was translated from the see of Hereford. He seems to have allowed, and indeed to have encouraged, synodical action, and he made grants to many monasteries both in Mercia and in kingdoms which were not under his immediate rule. In spite of this liberality, which was perhaps evoked by a desire to do what was expected of a great king, his reign was injurious to the interests of religion. In the letter to which reference has already been made, Boniface and five bishops of sees in the Frankish dominions, three of them of English race, reprove him severely for his evil life. He had abstained from marriage only that he might commit fornication, specially with mynchens, or as we should call them nuns, and other women consecrated to God. His wickedness was imitated by his great men, and child-murder was practised even in monasteries. Moreover, he allowed his

Greatness of Mercia. Æthelbald, 716-757.

ealdormen and thegns to oppress the servants of God and violate their privileges.

In 747 the Church made a vigorous effort to reform abuses. Its action may with great probability be connected with Bede's letter to Ecgbert; while the immediate cause of it was a letter sent by Pope Zachary, demanding instant reformation, and threatening the contumacious with excommunication. Acting on this letter, Archbishop Cuthbert held a provincial synod at Clovesho in September, at which Æthelbald and his nobles were present. Eleven out of the twelve bishops of the province attended the synod. The bishoprics and bishops of the province of Canterbury at that date were, in addition to the archbishop, Dunn of Rochester, the bishops of the three Mercian sees, Torthelm of Leicester, Hwitta of Lichfield, and Podda of Hereford; of the two West Saxon sees, Hunferth of Winchester and Herewald of Sherborne; of the two East Anglian sees, Eardulf of Dunwich and Eanfrith of Elmham (Eanfrith was absent from the synod); Ecgwulf of London, the East Saxon bishop, Milred, bishop of the Hwiccas, or of Worcester, Alwig of Lindsey, and Sigga of the South Saxons, or of Selsey. The pope's letter was read, and the bishops drew up thirty canons for the reform of abuses.

Council of Clovesho, 747.

It will be convenient to consider the more important of these canons, so far as is possible, under two heads, according to their relation to the secular clergy and laity and to the monastic order, though it will not be possible to keep the two classes perfectly distinct. Bishops were to give themselves to teaching God's people, were to set them a good example, and were to visit the whole of their dioceses every year, summoning the people to meet them at different places, that they might preach the Word of God to them, and forbid, among other sins, the practice of heathen magic. They were not to ordain any clerk to the priesthood without previous examination into his character, doctrine, and ability. Priests were to be diligent in baptizing and preaching in the places assigned to them by their bishops, that is, in their parishes. The parochial system was, then, by this time thoroughly established. They were to learn how to explain in English the

Its canons concerning clergy and laity.

Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the sacramental words in Baptism, and the Mass, and other offices of the Church. They were to observe festivals and saints' days, according to the Roman use and calendar, and a special order is made for the observance of the days of Pope Gregory "our father," and Archbishop Augustine. At a council held in 755 it was decreed that the day of the martyrdom of St. Boniface should also be solemnly observed. The four Ember seasons were to be kept as fasts by all, laity as well as clergy, and in accordance with the Roman rite. All ecclesiastical persons were carefully to prepare themselves for receiving the Holy Communion, and lay persons were to be exhorted to communicate more frequently.

Canons concerning monastic persons.

The canons with reference to monastic persons illustrate the irregular and unsettled condition of English monasticism at that time, and indicate the separation which was about to take place between ecclesiastics of secular and religious life. It was decreed that the bishops should admonish all abbots and abbesses in their diocese to live according to rule. This was an attempt to enforce the Rule of St. Benedict; it probably caused monks and clergy to cease from dwelling together, and led them to form communities, exclusively monastic or secular, as the case might be. A complete reformation of the pseudo-monasteries was considered impossible, but the bishops were to visit them and do what lay in their power for the good of the inmates. All bishops, abbots, and abbesses were to provide schools in which young people might be instructed in religious knowledge.

Monastic dress.

Monks and the seniors of convents were to lead regular lives, to wear a fitting dress, and to eschew fine garments. This provision was by no means unnecessary, for the monastic habit was not exclusively worn by the religious of either sex. St. Boniface remarks upon the purple borders which were worn upon the robes of young men in English monasteries, and Ealdhelm says that there were monastic ladies who wore violet-coloured vests, scarlet tunics, and sleeves slashed with silk and lined with fur, and curled their hair with irons. The punishment which fell upon Coldingham did not prevent ladies in other houses from using their skill in needlework for the gratification of their own vanity, instead of

for the adornment of God's altars. Another of these canons orders that the cells of mynchens (*sanctimonialium domicilia*) were not to be places of gossip, feasting, and drinking, but rather of reading and psalm-singing, than of weaving or sewing fine clothes. So, too, bishops were to take care that monasteries generally answered to their name, and were not made the resorts of minstrels, musicians, and buffoons. No lay person was to be admitted into the monastic order without due probation as laid down in the rule, lest it should afterwards be found necessary to expel him from his monastery, and he should then wander among the laity to the scandal of religion, and no abbot was to receive more monks than his house could support. From that time no clerks, monks, or mynchens were to dwell in the houses of the laity, each was to go back to his or her monastery.

All ecclesiastical persons were to refrain from excessive drinking, and except in cases of sickness were not to drink before the canonical, or third hour of the day. People used to rise early at that period, and nine in the morning was probably the time of the principal meal of the day. Excessive drinking was a national habit, and Boniface says that he had heard that even bishops indulged in it. In order to render these and other synodical decrees effectual, it was decided that bishops on returning from a synod, should call the priests and abbots of their dioceses together and instruct them as to what had been decreed, and that if a bishop found anything amiss in his diocese which he was unable to amend, he should lay the matter before the archbishop in a synod. Cuthbert sent the acts of this synod to Boniface, who in return wrote him an account of a council which he had held in Germany, and sent him several recommendations for reform in the English Church, enforcing the necessity of some of the measures already taken by Cuthbert's synod.

Excessive drinking.

Æthelbald was possibly moved by remonstrances addressed to him by the bishops, against the violence and extortion of his officers, for, in 749, he and his witan decreed that no burden should be laid on churches or monasteries, except for the building of bridges and the defence of strongholds. A few years later he was defeated

Death of Æthelbald of Mercia.

by the West Saxons at Burford, and lost his supremacy in the south, and in 757 was slain by his own followers, dying with an evil character, for a dreamer saw him in torment. After a usurper had reigned for a short time, Offa, a member of the royal house, succeeded to the Mercian throne.

Cuthbert, who was evidently an active and excellent archbishop, died on October 26, 758, and first of all Archbishops of Canterbury was buried in his cathedral church. It is said that, with the consent of the Kentish king, he obtained a decree from Gregory III. that Christ Church should for the future be the burial-place of the archbishops, and that he ordered that his death should not be made known until he was buried. Accordingly, when the monks of St. Augustine's, on hearing the tolling of the Christ Church bell, came to carry off his body to bury it, they found that he had already been buried in the baptistery which he had added to his church. They were grieved that their church should lose the honour it had so long enjoyed, to say nothing of the payment called "soul-sceat" made at burials, or of offerings presented at the archbishops' tombs. Cuthbert was succeeded by Bregwine, a friend of Lul, the successor of Boniface in the see of Mainz, whom he had met in Rome. He was not a Mercian, and Offa probably thought him no friend to the Mercian party in Kent, for he despoiled him of the Mercian monastery of Cookham, which Æthelbald had granted to his church. Bregwine died on August 25, 765, and was buried with Cuthbert in Christ Church, his death being kept secret until after his burial, so that though Jaenbert,[1] the abbot of St. Augustine's, and his monks were prepared to carry off his body by force, if need be, they were outwitted. He was succeeded by Jaenbert, who, according to a late and entirely untrustworthy story, was elected by the monks of Christ Church in order to avoid an appeal to Rome on the burials question. We may believe that Cuthbert and Bregwine each received a pall, Jaenbert certainly received one and in 767, apparently after receiving it, consecrated Æthelbert to the see of York, and two other bishops, besides

The archiepiscopal burial-place.

[1] This name should be written Iaenberht, for it is, Mr. Plummer points out, a form of Eanbriht. The initial is therefore vocalic, not consonantal. The usual form is retained in the text to avoid confusion.

Alubert an English missionary, whom he consecrated as a bishop for the Old Saxons.

Though the greatness of Mercia was shaken by the defeat of Æthelbald and by civil discord, Offa, after some years, raised it to a climax. He made himself master of the whole country from the Humber to the Thames, for he defeated the West Saxons, and added the present Oxfordshire to his immediate kingdom; he conquered Kent, extended his border at the expense of the Welsh, and exercised a strong influence in the affairs of Wessex and Northumbria. Some years after conquering the East Anglians, he caused their king Æthelbert to be beheaded. Æthelbert's death was made the subject of legends; he is said to have been a holy king, and became the patron-saint of the church of Hereford. It was believed that Offa founded St. Alban's Abbey as an atonement for his murder. There is no reason to doubt that he was the founder of St. Alban's, and he may possibly have restored a minster on Thorney Island, the predecessor of the Confessor's West Minster, said to have been founded in the earliest days of English Christianity; indeed, his grants to monasteries, to Peterborough, Worcester, Christ Church, and St. Augustine's at Canterbury, and many more, though generally recorded in spurious charters, are so numerous that there can be no question as to his liberality to the Church. His relations with Popes Hadrian I. and Leo III., and with the mighty Frankish ruler, Charles the Great, who was, through his intimacy with Alcuin, thoroughly acquainted with English affairs, show that he was regarded on the continent as a powerful monarch. In a letter written by Hadrian to Charles, before 786, the pope refers to a malicious report that Charles and Offa, "King of the English people," had conspired to depose him, and says that he would gladly receive envoys from Offa.

Offa, King of the Mercians, 757-796.

In spite of his liberality, Offa brought evil on the Church. He sought to consolidate his kingdom by giving it an independent ecclesiastical organisation. The rise of Mercia had divided England between three large states, Northumbria, Mercia, and Wessex. Northumbria, which had its own archbishop, was weakened by civil discord, and virtually stood apart from the politics of the rest of the country. Mercia, though mistress of Kent, was ecclesi-

Offa and the see of Canterbury.

astically subject to Canterbury. The grievance was not merely sentimental; the primate was a factor of importance in the politics of Southern England, and the success of English missions, and the fame of English scholars, had contributed to exalt his position in Europe. In Kent, which had for a time been subject to East Saxon kings reigning with Mercian support, had passed under West Saxon influence, and had next been conquered and reconquered by Mercia, civil rivalries had vastly increased the power of the metropolitan see. The archbishops coined their own money, at least from the time of Jaenbert, some of whose coins are in existence. A hostile archbishop might be a serious menace to the continuance of Mercian rule in Kent. Offa designed to divide the southern province, and erect a Mercian archbishopric as a means of strengthening the unity of the Mercian dominions, and of weakening the power of the church of Canterbury, which he perhaps suspected was being used by Jaenbert against his sovereignty in Kent. For political reasons he endangered the peace of the church, and attacked the see of Augustine.

Offa's opportunity came in 786. George, cardinal-bishop of Ostia, who was then residing at the court of Charles, as the legate of Hadrian, received a command from Hadrian sent by Theophylact, cardinal-bishop of Todi, that they were both to go as legates to England "to renew the faith and peace which St. Gregory had sent us by Augustine the Bishop." This was the first time that England was visited by papal legates. The mission of legates acted as a powerful instrument in increasing the papal authority. A legate represented in distant lands the pope by whom he had been sent, and coming from the pope's side (*legatus a latere*) was invested with a measure of his authority, so that in all matters of jurisdiction he acted as the superior of the bishops of the land which he was commissioned to visit. The legate *a latere* was different from a mere envoy, who simply conveyed a message, or was sent to carry out the pope's bidding as to some special matter, but was not personally invested with any measure of the dignity and authority of a representative of the pope himself. In later times there were legates in England of another sort, whose presence was far less prejudicial to the independent life of a national church. These were called

A legatine visit, 786.

native legates (*legati nati*), but with them we have nothing to do here. No other legates came to England after this visit, until the eve of the Norman Conquest, when the English throne was occupied by a king who was a foreigner in heart and by education. Not that earlier kings would have refused to admit legates, but they did not want them or ask for them, and the popes did not send them. For there were no heresies in the English Church which called for correction, and as the custom arose that archbishops should go to Rome for their palls, and make oath of obedience to the Roman see on receiving them, there was no need to enforce an acknowledgment of the papal authority in England by any further means. So the English Church was allowed to go on its way with remarkably little direct interference from Rome. Along with the legates, George and Theophylact, Charles sent as his ambassador a Frankish abbot named Wigbod.

On arriving in England in 786, the legates went to Canterbury and discussed the affairs of the church with Jaenbert. Thence they went to the court of Offa, who received them with joy. He had doubtless already laid his scheme for the creation of a third archbishopric before Hadrian, and we may believe that it was the determining cause of the legates' visit, though, as we have seen, the abuses which had appeared in the English Church had caused some anxiety at Rome, and Hadrian may have been glad of an opportunity of using his authority to suppress them. The legates had much talk with Offa, and with Cynewulf, the king of the West Saxons, who was visiting him, and with the great men of Mercia. George, who was the head of the legation, bade his colleague stay with Offa, and visit "parts of Britain," or England,[1] while he and Wigbod went into the North to Eanbald I., Archbishop of York, to hold a council in his province. Eanbald sent to Ælfwald, then king of the Northumbrians, who, after some delay, came from the northern parts of his kingdom, and a day was fixed for the council. It was, perhaps, held at Finchale near Durham. Alcuin, the famous

A Northumbrian synod.

[1] Bishop Stubbs says that the Britain meant here is probably North Wales, the principality of Gwynedd, which adopted the Roman Easter 768-809, see *Councils*, etc. iii. 461. But if the report of the legates' doings was written by Wigbod, see *postea*, he would have used the name Britain as suggested above.

scholar, who had come over from Gaul on a visit to his own country, was present at it, together with Pyttel, one of his friends, both of them only in reader's orders. George caused the pope's letters to be read. Then, after all had declared that they would obey the pope and him, he read twenty decrees which he had drawn up, and all present accepted them for themselves and those subject to them, and subscribed them, each adding the sign of the cross to his name.

After this, George went south with Wigbod, taking with him Alcuin and Pyttel, who carried the acts of the northern council, met Theophylact, and in 787 held another legatine council at Cealchythe, or Chelsea, which was attended by Jaenbert and the bishops of the southern province, and by Offa and his witan. At this council he caused the decrees which had been accepted in Northumbria to be read clearly in English as well as in Latin,[1] that all might understand them, and all accepted them.

The synod of Chelsea, 787.

[1] In the report of the legatine mission first printed by the Magdeburg Centuriators, and copied from them by Spelman, Wilkins, and Haddan and Stubbs, these words were given as "tam Latine quam Teutonice." Philologists said that "Teutonice" must be wrong, as that word was not used to denote a language until much later. It was also remarked that the report contained no notice of the creation of the archbishopric of Lichfield, and Bishop Stubbs, fully convinced of its authenticity, noted that it was imperfect. The MS. used by the Centuriators, and believed to have been lost, has lately been discovered, and a corrected version of the report is printed in *Monumenta Germ. Hist., Epp. Karolini Ævi*, ii. 20 sq., Berlin, 1895. It is now proved that "Teutonice" is an arbitrary alteration, the word in the MS. being "theodisce," which in this connection must mean English. Dr. Dove in an admirable paper "Das älteste Zeugniss für den namen Deutsch" in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Munich Academy for 1895, p. 223 sq., Munich, 1896, points out that no Englishman would have used "theodisce" to denote his own language, but that it might very well have been used in opposition to Latin by a North German, who would, more or less, have understood English, and have recognised it as a form of his own speech, and argues from this and other internal evidence that it is probable that the report was written by Wigbod for his master Charles. Wigbod, in copying from the report prepared by the legates, would select for his master the acts of canonical importance, and leave out a matter of purely insular interest such as the Lichfield archbishopric, so that the incompleteness of the report is in favour of its authenticity, of which there can now be no question. It is from the amended version of the report that we learn that Alcuin was present at the two councils, while philologists have found in it the earliest known use of the word Deutsch (theodisc) as the name of a particular language. I have to thank the Bishop of Oxford for calling my attention to the corrected version of the report and to Dr. Dove's paper, and Professor Napier, of Oxford, for kindly explaining the significance of the new reading.

Of these decrees we need only notice three. In cap. 3 it is ordained (1) that two synods should be held every year; it is unlikely that this was carried out, but the number of councils known to have been held in succeeding years suggests that the decree was not ineffectual; and (2) that bishops should hold yearly visitations. Cap. 4 orders bishops to see that canons lived canonically, and monks regularly. This is the first notice of canons in the history of the English Church. From the time of St. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo (395-430), the clergy of a bishop's church sometimes dwelt together under his direction in a semi-monastic manner, though not under monastic vows. About 750, Chrodegang, a Bishop of Metz, drew up a rule for the clergy of his church, founded on the Rule of St. Benedict, ordaining that they were to eat together, sleep in a common dormitory, and be under officers, who, though bearing other titles, corresponded to the officers of a convent. The clergy who lived thus by rule (*κάνων* or *canon*) were called *canonici* or canons. An attempt was made in the Frankish empire to bring secular priests generally under this rule; it failed, and canons remained a class apart; they were seculars not under monastic vows, though theoretically bound by a semi-monastic rule. In England, the term "canon," appearing in these conciliar acts drawn up by foreigners, does not appear to have been in ordinary use until at least the end of the tenth century. After the revival of Benedictinism, attempts were made to bring the clergy to accept the canonical life. They were quietly resisted, and though, as we shall see, the rule of Chrodegang was introduced into a few churches, it never gained any hold on the English clergy, and generally the term "canon" meant little more than a member of a college of clergy, serving a church in common and having a common claim on its revenues. Cap. 17 orders the payment of tithes, though without directing how they were to be applied. As these legatine councils were attended by kings and their witan, they had the authority of witenagemots, and therefore the obligation of tithe, previously declared by the Church, was in these councils made imperative by secular law.

Canonical life.

Tithes.

In addition to canonical business, the question of a Mercian archbishopric was debated in the council of the

southern province. After some contention, the council agreed to the proposal that the see of Lichfield, then occupied by a bishop named Higbert, should be raised to metropolitan rank. Jaenbert was compelled to surrender to Higbert a part of his province, said to have been as much as seven out of the twelve southern bishoprics, so that Canterbury was left with only Winchester, London, Sherborne, Rochester, and Selsey as suffragan sees. Higbert received a pall, probably in 788, and thenceforward attested charters as equal in dignity with Jaenbert, though junior to him in date of consecration. Apparently before the council broke up, Offa caused his son Ecgferth to be hallowed king, and thus obtained through the legates the papal recognition of him as his colleague and successor. Out of gratitude to the pope, he vowed at the council to send every year to Rome three hundred and sixty-five mancuses—a mancus being thirty pence—for the poor and for the maintenance of the lights in St. Peter's. This was probably the origin of Peter's pence, a tax of a penny on every hearth, which was sent from England before, and after the close of the ninth century. The king's offering was not an excessive return for the help that he had derived from Rome in his scheme to subordinate the dignity of the see of Canterbury, and the welfare of the Church, to the political greatness of his house and kingdom. Jaenbert was the last archbishop buried in St. Augustine's; he was succeeded by Æthelheard, probably a Mercian abbot, who was, perhaps, elected in 791, and was consecrated on July 21, 793. The delay in his consecration may have been caused by the unwillingness of the clergy and people of Kent to receive a Mercian archbishop.

An archbishopric of Lichfield.

The mission of Wigbod established close relations between Charles and Offa, and the interest felt by Alcuin in the Church of his native land gave the friendship of the two kings an ecclesiastical importance. Charles strongly disapproved of the decrees of the Second Council of Nicæa, held in 787, which not only condemned the iconoclasm of the Isaurian Emperors, but declared that adoration was due to the images of Christ and His saints. In spite of Hadrian's confirmation of these

Charlemagne and the English Church.

decrees Charles ordered the publication of a treatise called the Caroline Books in which this doctrine was censured in indignant terms. Being anxious to obtain the support of the English Church, he sent a copy of the acts of the Nicene Council to England in 792, and it was there decided, evidently by synodical authority, that the worship of images was reprobated by the Church of God. Alcuin, who was then in England, was deputed to present to the Frankish king, in the name of the English prelates and princes, a letter which he had written proving it to be contrary to the Scriptures. By Charles's invitation English bishops attended the council of Frankfort held in 794, in which the action of the Nicene Council was anathematised and the adoptionist heresy was condemned. The prevalence of this semi-arian heresy in certain parts of his dominions caused Charles to order that the words *Filioque*, asserting the catholic verity of the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father *and the Son*, should be introduced into the Nicene Creed chanted in his chapel. This truth, it will be remembered, had already been acknowledged by the English Church at the council of Hatfield. On the death of Hadrian in 795, Charles sent a present of vestments to the bishops of the Northumbrian and Mercian sees to obtain prayers for the pope's soul, and further promised Offa that English pilgrims to Rome should be free from toll.

During the eighth century the Church in Northumbria was distressed by civil discord and disaster. From the death of Aldfrith, in 705, to the end of the century, fourteen kings reigned in Northumbria, of whom not one died peacefully in possession of the kingly power.[1] Two, Ceolwulf and Eadbert, voluntarily entered monasteries, the rest were slain, banished, or simply deposed. They were, for the most part, violent and evil men. One fragment of Northumbrian history will suffice to illustrate the disturbances which put an end to the prosperity of the Church in that kingdom. Æthelred, the son of a banished king, was elected king in his youth on the deposition of his father's successor. He was cruel, and after a reign of five years was banished in 779. He was succeeded by Ælfwald, who was present at the legatine council of 786. Unlike most of these

Civil discord in Northumbria.

[1] See the list in Bp. Stubbs's *Constitutional History*, i. 137, ed. 1875.

kings Ælfwald was just and pious; he reigned for nearly ten years and then was murdered. The next reign was short; the king was banished, and afterwards slain. Then, in 790, Æthelred was recalled from exile, and was restored to the throne. Alcuin, who was then in Northumbria, was much interested in his restoration, for he hoped that he would rule well, and after his return to Gaul he wrote more than once to Æthelred, exhorting him and his nobles to avoid excess and be guided by the clergy, reminding him that his predecessors had reaped the due reward of their injustice, covetousness, and debauchery. Æthelred, however, reigned no better than before his deposition, and was slain by his nobles in 796. The next king was banished after a reign of only twenty-seven days, and was succeeded by Eardulf, who had, among many others, suffered from Æthelred's cruelty. It is said that Æthelred had ordered that he should be put to death at Ripon, and that the executioner left him for dead, but he was found to be alive when the monks came to bury him.

In the midst of these disturbances the Church in the North received a heavy blow from beyond the sea. In 793, Scandinavian pirates burnt the monastery on the holy isle of Lindisfarne, plundered the church, slew some of the monks, and carried others into captivity. Bitter was the cry of lamentation over the injury done to this venerable place, and Alcuin exhorted Æthelred to take this awful warning as a call to repentance. He wrote to Higbald, the bishop of the church, and his monks, entreating them to be of good courage and to seek to live a higher life, and promised to seek help from Charles for them and for their captive brethren. The monks of Wearmouth and Jarrow he exhorted to take warning by the calamity of Lindisfarne. His letter shows that religion had decayed among them since the death of Bede; he urges them not to be unworthy of their spiritual fathers, not to be slothful, or careless of the treasures of their library and the beauty of their churches. Their pupils, he says, should imitate Bede's industry, and not spend their time in digging out foxes or hunting hares. The year after the overthrow of Lindisfarne the pirates fell on Jarrow and plundered it. Some English warriors caught them and slew their leader, and soon afterwards their ships

Fall of Lindisfarne. Decay of religion.

were wrecked, some of the crews were drowned, and all who escaped to the shore were slain without mercy.

Eanbald I. died on August 10, 796. He seems to have consulted Alcuin as to his successor, for Alcuin exhorted him to secure a free election to the clergy of his church, and wrote to them warning them against simony. The next archbishop, Eanbald II., was elected probably before the death of Eanbald I., as though to avoid some anticipated interference, for he was consecrated on the 14th by his suffragans, at Sockburn. He had been brought up in the school of York, and was much beloved by Alcuin, who, on his consecration, wrote him a letter full of godly counsel. Alcuin bade him beware of worldliness and self-indulgence, and be careful as to the conduct of his clerks; they were not to drink to excess, wear fine clothes, or scour the country hallooing after foxes—fox-hunting of a sort seems to have been popular in the north—but should ride by his side singing psalms. He did not write thus without a thorough knowledge of the state of the Church in Northumbria. Eanbald struggled to reform abuses; for he held a provincial council which was attended by laymen as well as clergy, in 798 or 799, at Finchale, where a profession of faith was made, and ordinances were enacted for the increase of religion.

Eanbald II., Abp. of York, 796.

Eanbald suffered much from the hostility of King Eardulf, who suspected him of intriguing against him with the Mercian king, and, in 801, the archbishop thought that he might be forced to leave his church. Eardulf had put away his wife and was living in adultery, and we may be sure that the archbishop condemned his wickedness. Eanbald, however, seems also to have taken a part in politics less consonant with his sacred office; for Alcuin suggests that he harboured the king's enemies, and says that he kept too many soldiers in his train. Eardulf was driven from his kingdom in 808, and laid his grievances before Charles the Great, then Emperor of the Romans, and Leo III. He is said by a Northumbrian authority to have married one of the emperor's daughters, but the statement lacks confirmation. Both the pope and the emperor evidently thought that Eanbald had had a hand in the king's expulsion, and they

His quarrel with King Eardulf.

joined in sending envoys to Northumbria who restored him. On leaving Northumbria the papal envoy fell into the hands of Scandinavian pirates, who brought him back to England, where he was ransomed by a Mercian noble. Eanbald seems personally to have been an excellent man, though he was, perhaps, led by the exigencies of his position to adopt a line of conduct not to be commended in a bishop. His secular power is illustrated by the large number of his coins which are still extant, and are said to be the first issued by an archbishop of York, with the exception of those of Ecgbert. The date of his death is not known. After his time civil discord and disaster shrouded the Church in Northumbria in darkness. That its light may be discerned shining so long amid the surrounding gloom, is due to the school of York, which had supplied it with learned and godly clergy.

Offa and his son Ecgferth, who succeeded him, having both died in 796, Cenwulf, or Kenulf, was chosen king by the Mercians. He had at once to face a revolt in Kent which had broken out before his accession. The Kentish men chose as their king Eadbert Præn, a member of their royal house; he was in holy orders, and had probably been forced by Offa to receive ordination to prevent him from aiming at the throne. This revolt made the support of the see of Canterbury important to the Mercian king, and consequently the archiepiscopal authority of Higbert seems to have waned after the death of Offa, for the bishops-elect of Lindsey and Dunwich sought consecration from Æthelheard, and made profession of obedience to him. No earlier records of professions of obedience made by English bishops-elect at their consecration are known to exist, and it may be that the wrong done to the Church of Canterbury either caused documents of this sort to be drawn up for the first time, or at least ensured their preservation, as evidences of the rights of the metropolitan see. Æthelheard warmly upheld the Mercian cause in Kent, and obtained from Leo an anathema against Eadbert as an apostate priest. This enraged the Kentish people; he was forced to leave his see, and in 797 Alcuin wrote to the nobles and people of Kent exhorting them to recall him.

Revolt in Kent.

The next year Cenwulf reconquered Kent, took Eadbert

prisoner, and blinded and mutilated him. He was not unmindful of the help that he had received from Æthelheard; he restored the estate at Cookham, which Offa had taken from Archbishop Bregwine, and wrote to Leo asking him to ascertain the rights of the see of Canterbury, and enclosing a letter from Æthelheard and his suffragans on the subject. Leo replied that Hadrian would not have divided the southern province if Offa had not told him that the division was generally desired. It was obvious from his letter that Æthelheard had only to go to Rome to obtain the restoration of the rights of his see. Alcuin rejoiced at Æthelheard's return to Canterbury, advised him to do penance for deserting his church, and encouraged him in his efforts to put an end to the archbishopric of Lichfield, expressing a hope that, though Higbert should be deprived of all metropolitan authority, so pious a man would not be mortified by being stripped of his pall. In 801, Alcuin asked the emperor to receive the archbishop on his journey to Rome, and sent his servant, with a horse and a saddle, such as the Frankish bishops used, to meet him at the cell of St. Judoc, near Etaples, which Charles had conferred upon Alcuin. Æthelheard prospered at Rome, and on January 12, 802, Leo restored the rights of his see. This restoration was acknowledged by the bishops and clergy of his province at a council held at Clovesho on October 12, 803, in the presence of Cenwulf and his witan. At this council it was decreed that thenceforward no layman or secular person might be elected as lord of a monastery. Poor Higbert seems to have been deprived not only of his pall, but even of his episcopal orders, for Eardulf attended the council as Bishop of Lichfield, and first among the names of the clergy of his diocese who accompanied him comes "Hygberht abbas."

Restoration of the rights of Canterbury, 802.

AUTHORITIES.—Bede's *Epistola ad Ecgbertum Episcopum* is in Mr. Plummer's and other editions of Bede, and his *Epistola ad Plegwinum* in Giles's edition, 1843. The greater part of the other materials for this chapter will be found in *Councils and Eccl. Docs.* vol. iii.; see also, for the correspondence of St. Boniface, Alcuin, and Charlemagne, Jaffé's *Monumenta Moguntina* and *Mon. Alcuiniana*, u.s., and *Mon. Carolina*, Berlin, 1867. The Life of St. Guthlac, written shortly after his death by Felix, is in *AA. SS.*, Bolland. Apr. ii. 37, and elsewhere. The dispute about the burial-place

of the archbishops is recorded in Thorne's *Chronica Abb. S. Augustini*, ap. Twysden's *Decem Scriptores*, London, 1652, and is related by Hook in his *Lives of the Abps.* vol. i. The place of the legatine council in the north is not quite certain. A synod was held at Finchale in Sept. 787 (see Symeon, *Hist. Regum*, sub an.), and Bp. Stubbs identifies it with the legatine council (*Councils*, iii. 443, 444). Mr. Plummer, however, in the forthcoming vol. ii. of his edition of the *Sax. Chron.*, inclines, with reason, to the opinion that the northern legatine council was held before the end of 786. In any case, it was probably held at Finchale, which seems to have been the ordinary meeting-place of northern synods. The rule of Chrodegang is in L. d'Achery's *Spicilegium*, tom. i., Paris, 1723. Most of our knowledge of Northumbrian history after the end of Bede's work comes from Symeon of Durham, who, as Bp. Stubbs has pointed out, preserves some ancient Northumbrian annals. Symeon's *Opera* are in the Rolls series. Eardulf's marriage to a daughter of Charlemagne is asserted in *Ann. Lindisfarn.* ap. *Mon. Germ.* ed. Pertz, xix. 506. The story of the restoration of Eardulf is in Einhard, *Ann. Mon. Germ.* i. 195, and *Mon. Carolina*, pp. 313, 316. Other general authorities are the *Sax. Chron.* ed. Plummer, Florence of Worc. and the ancient Lists appended to his *Chronicle*, William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum* and *Gesta Pontificum*, all already quoted, and Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus*, Engl. Hist. Soc. See also Bp. Stubbs's art. "Offa" (4) in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.*

CHAPTER XIII

VIKING INVASIONS

During the first three-quarters of the ninth century the English Church passed through a period of vicissitudes and storm. In the early years of the century it was delivered from the dangers which threatened it from the predominance of the kings of the Mercians, who had sought to make it subservient to their own ends. Later, its alliance with Ecgbert and the West Saxon house contributed to the future consolidation of the kingdom, and promised to advance its influence and means of usefulness. The fair prospect was speedily overcast by the clouds of viking invasion, which had already begun to lower, and soon shrouded it in almost total darkness. Throughout by far the larger part of the country, all over Northumbria and the Midlands, the organisation of the Church was for a time virtually destroyed. Churches and monasteries sank in ruins, their ministers and religious congregations were scattered or slain, episcopal sees remained vacant, and in some cases bishoprics were not revived. The West Saxon king alone was left to roll back the ever-rising flood of heathen invasion, and to begin a work of restoration in Church and State which was carried on by a line of great kings.

Preliminary sketch.

In order to appreciate the significance of events during this period and at a later time, we must for a moment take a look at things which lie far ahead of us. The ecclesiastical and moral reformation of the tenth century was closely connected with a monastic revival and the importation from abroad of a stricter form of Benedictinism. In this

light the taste for continental civilisation and the policy of forming relations with continental powers, which is conspicuous in the kings of the house of Egbert, become matters of ecclesiastical importance. Nor, if we would rightly understand the reformation of English monasticism, must we omit to mark the nature of its decay. This is too generally ascribed solely to the cataclysm of the viking invasions. Had this been so, its restoration would have been more quickly accomplished, and would have been brought about without much hardship to the secular clergy, who would not then have had what may be called a prescriptive title to monastic property. The comparative slackness of English Benedictinism, and the early period at which seeds of decay are visible in English monasticism, have already been pointed out. The progress of this decay is not easily discerned amid the records of more stirring events or the darkness of invasion, but some indications of it may be noted. The monasteries fell into the hands of the secular clergy, partly because monasticism had long been in a feeble state, and not merely because it was well-nigh extinguished by war and massacre, though these put a finishing stroke to a change which had previously been in progress.

Archbishop Æthelheard, after having defeated the mischievous policy of Offa, and procured the restoration of the rights of his see, died on May 12, 805, and was buried in his cathedral church, where for so many centuries his successors were laid to rest. He was succeeded by his archdeacon Wulfred, who was, probably, a native of Kent, where he had great possessions. A fragment of a letter, addressed by the English bishops to a pope named Leo, which cites precedents to show that the archbishops of Canterbury were not bound to go to Rome for their palls, seems to belong to the time of his election, when Leo III. was pope, though there is not sufficient evidence that the custom was established so early. Wulfred received a pall, but the assertion that he went to Rome for it does not rest on satisfactory authority.

Wulfred Abp. of Cant. 805-832.

For a short time he was on good terms with Cenwulf, but by 808 so serious a quarrel had broken out between them that it had come to the pope's ears. The cause of their dispute may easily be guessed. Cuthred, who since the overthrow of

Eadbert Præn had reigned in Kent in dependence on Mercia, died in 807, and though he was succeeded by a king named Baldred, with whom the archbishop was on friendly terms, Cenwulf really ruled the kingdom. Wulfred's large possessions rendered him peculiarly powerful in Kent. While his predecessor's coins are stamped on the reverse with the names of Offa or Cenwulf, his coins do not bear a king's name. The quarrel between him and Cenwulf doubtless arose from the king's jealousy of his political influence in Kent, and Cenwulf, like his kinsman Offa, was not scrupulous as to the means he used to depress the metropolitan see. In 814, Wulfred and Wigthen, Bishop of Winchester, went to Rome on some business of the Church, probably to represent the archbishop's cause to the pope, who seems to have arranged matters, for in 816 Cenwulf was present at a provincial council held by Wulfred at Chelsea.

His quarrel with Cenwulf of Mercia.

The next year the king seized the monasteries of Minster in Thanet and Reculver. Wulfred was not the man quietly to allow his church to be robbed, and in order to defeat his resistance Cenwulf laid false charges against him before the pope. Then, according to a contemporary document, "the whole English nation was for six years deprived of primordial authority and the ministry of holy baptism." We cannot be sure of the meaning of these words. It is incredible that a virtual interdict of so tremendous a character should have been laid on the whole English people, specially as the event is not mentioned elsewhere. The words are no doubt rhetorical, and those concerning baptism may only signify a cessation of Wulfred's authority; for from the see of Canterbury baptism first came to our people, and the archbishop was, as one of the greatest of his successors was called, "the head of Christianity in this land." It seems possible, then, that this puzzling sentence may simply mean that, during the progress of the dispute, Wulfred was more or less—for the literal sense of the words must surely not be insisted upon—prevented from exercising his authority, either by Cenwulf's interference, or by the pope, during such time as the king's charges against him were still under consideration. Wulfred evidently represented his innocence to the pope and the emperor, Lewis the

Persecuted by Cenwulf.

Pious, who both seem to have taken his part. This enraged Cenwulf, who, about 820, cited Wulfred to appear before him at a witenagemot at London, his royal city. He there demanded the surrender of another estate and the payment of a fine, as the price of his withdrawing the charges against the archbishop, declaring that if he refused he would confiscate all his property, banish him, and never receive him back either for pope or emperor. After some resistance, Wulfred was forced to agree. The king, however, did not keep his word, and the quarrel still went on.

Cenwulf died in 821, and is said to have been succeeded by his son Cenhelm or Kenelm, a child of seven. According to legend the little king's sister, Cwenthryth, an abbess, persuaded his guardian to kill him in a forest. His head was cut off, and the murder was made known by a white dove which flew up to heaven from his fair hair. In after-times the legend was elaborated: it was said that the dove flew into St. Peter's at Rome, and laid a letter on the high altar. None could read it, for it was written in English, until an Englishman who was standing by took it, and read how the little king was slain, and his body was hidden in a thicket. Then the pope wrote letters to all the English kings telling them what had been done. So men found Cenhelm's body and buried him with his father, in the minster that his father had built at Winchcombe, and they built a chapel in the place where the body was found, near Halesowen in Shropshire, and called it St. Kenelm's Chapel, and the day of St. Kenelm's death was kept on July 17. His uncle Ceolwulf was chosen king by the Mercians, and was consecrated by Wulfred. The whole story of St. Kenelm seems highly doubtful, and at any rate we need not believe that Cwenthryth's eyes fell out at her brother's funeral, though an historian of the twelfth century says that the psalter she was carrying was shown in his time stained with the blood which flowed from them. She inherited her father's private possessions, and among them those that he had taken from the archbishop. Ceolwulf was banished, and, in 825, when the goodwill of the archbishop was of the highest importance to the Mercian king, Wulfred, at a witenagemot held by Ceolwulf's successor Beornwulf, obtained from Cwenthryth a surrender of the estates which he

St. Kenelm.

claimed, and which she had previously pledged herself to restore to him. Again the Church triumphed over an attempt of the Mercian house to use it as a means of self-aggrandisement. The greatness of that house had by that time passed away; the final agreement between Wulfred and Cenwulf's daughter was made on the eve of the fall of Mercian independence.

The Church and national unity.

We have now arrived at the beginning of the period of the West Saxon supremacy, won by Ecgbert, and destined under the kings of his line to grow into the sovereignty of a united nation. In this "making of England" the Church of England bore a signal part. Amid the divisions and struggles of the heptarchic period, the Church alone represented the idea of unity. It was the Church of all the kingdoms, and of none of them exclusively; it was not the Church of Kent, or of Mercia, or of Wessex, but of the English nation. Each kingdom had its own legislative assembly; the Church alone had assemblies gathered at first from every kingdom, and later, in the province of Canterbury, from every part south of the Humber. A layman of one kingdom was a stranger, perhaps an enemy, in another; a churchman was at home in all. Bishops were not necessarily natives of the kingdoms in which their dioceses lay. The see of Canterbury was held now by a West Saxon, and now by a Mercian, as well as by Kentishmen. The Northumbrian Ceadda was Bishop of the Mercians; Berctgils, an East Anglian bishop, was a Kentishman; Pecthelm, the first Bishop of Whitern, though probably by birth a Northumbrian, as his name (the helm of the Picts) suggests, had been one of Ealdhelm's monks in Wessex. Thus the Church foreshadowed and set an example of a unity which was gradually attained by the nation, for the story that represents Ecgbert as declaring himself sole king of the English is a late fabrication.

The archbishoprics.

Offa's policy of providing Mercia with a separate ecclesiastical government would, if successful, have hindered the attainment of unity, and its defeat by Æthelheard is therefore an event of the highest importance in the making of the nation. While the elevation of the see of York to metropolitan dignity certainly strengthened the separation of Northumbria from the rest of England, it was not in itself a dis-

ruptive measure, and only contributed to effects produced by other causes. Nor did the foundation of the archbishopric of York detract from the example of unity afforded by the Church. The two archbishops stood, according to Gregory's plan, in close relations to each other, and though notices of intercourse between Canterbury and York are rare, we find Alcuin advising Æthelheard to take counsel with his "co-bishop" of York, Eanbald II., with reference to the restoration of the rights of his see, and three years later, when Æthelheard was setting out for Rome, a second meeting took place between the two archbishops.

Ecgbert of Wessex, 802-839.

Ecgbert was the son of Ealhmund, a member of the royal house of Wessex, who, about ten years before the revolt of Eadbert Præn, had reigned in Kent, no doubt in opposition to Offa. As a probable claimant to the kingship both in Wessex and Kent, Ecgbert was obnoxious alike to Offa and to the West Saxon king Beorhtric. In 789, Beorhtric married one of Offa's daughters, and the allied kings drove Ecgbert out of the country. Like many other English exiles, he found shelter with Charles the Great. He may have been in Charles's train when, on Christmas Day 800, Leo III. placed the imperial crown on Charles's head; he must have seen much of the civil and military organisation of Charles's dominions, and can scarcely have been unaffected by the ecclesiastical atmosphere of his court. He returned to England on the death of Beorhtric, who was poisoned by his wife in 802, and, after overcoming some slight resistance, became King of the West Saxons.

His conquests.

Eleven years later, Ecgbert overran West Wales or Cornwall, the last fragment of the British kingdom of Dyfnaint. This expedition marks an epoch in his career, for in after-years he seems to have regarded it as marking the beginning of his hegemony. He completed his conquest in 823-825, and extended his immediate kingdom to Land's End. As he marched westwards, he halted at Crediton, and in the presence of Wigthen, Bishop of Winchester, of Hereferth his coadjutor, and of Ealhstan of Sherborne, made grants to the see of Winchester, and either during this war, or after some later rising of the West Welsh, is said to have dedicated a tenth of the conquered land to

God, and certainly gave three estates in Cornwall to the church of Sherborne. Since the days of Ine the West Saxon kings had not given largely to the Church, and these grants made by Ecgbert, when, as we may suppose, he was seeking the blessing of Heaven on his campaign, are therefore specially noteworthy as significant of an alliance with the Church. His power became a menace to Mercia. In 825, the year in which Beornwulf and his Mercian witan had forced Cwenthryth to settle the just claims of Archbishop Wulfred, and probably before Ecgbert had returned from his campaign in Cornwall, Beornwulf invaded Wessex. Ecgbert defeated him with great slaughter at Ellandun, probably in Wiltshire.

The West Saxon victory was followed by a complete break-up of the Mercian power. The people of Surrey, the South Saxons, and the East Saxons submitted to Ecgbert, and the East Anglians purchased peace from him by slaying Beornwulf, who had taken refuge among them. Then Ecgbert sent his son Æthelwulf, and with him Bishop Ealhstan, whose part in the expedition should be noted, to conquer Kent. They drove out Baldred, who, on the eve of his flight, granted Malling to Christ Church, as though to purchase Wulfred's goodwill. This grant, together with the presence of Ealhstan in the invading army, suggests that, in spite of the friendly relations which had existed between Baldred and Wulfred, the archbishop favoured the cause of Ecgbert. This may well have been so, for Ecgbert was the son of a former king of Kent, and had for thirteen years resided at the court of Charlemagne, from whose son, Lewis, Wulfred had received sympathy, and possibly help, in his quarrel with Cenwulf.[1] Ecgbert made Æthelwulf the King of Kent under himself, and soon afterwards conquered Mercia and set a king over it. Moreover, in 831, he received the submission of the Northumbrians, so that he was acknowledged as supreme over all the kingdoms of the English.

The conquest of Kent.

Ecgbert's interest in the Church is unmistakable, and may safely be connected with his long residence at the Frankish court, where he must have seen how Charles strengthened his power by the support of the Church, and employed

[1] Bishop Stubbs, however, conjectures that "the sturdy prelate submitted with reluctance to the rule of Egbert" (*Cons. Hist.* i. c. 8, sec. 88).

the clergy in secular affairs. It seems probable that during Ecgbert's reign some increase was made in the West Saxon episcopate. Hereferth, though described as Bishop of Winchester, was perhaps the bishop of some tribe included in Wigthen's diocese, and some thirty years after Ecgbert's death a notice occurs of a bishop of Wiltshire. It may be that Ecgbert designed to complete the administrative organisation of his immediate kingdom by setting a bishop and an ealdorman over each tribe, the people of each shire, of the West Saxons, and that the viking invasions hindered the full accomplishment of his design, which was not carried out, so far as the bishops were concerned, until the beginning of the next century.

Ecgbert and the Church.

The relations between the Church and the West Saxon dynasty were soon drawn closer. Wulfred died on March 24, 832. He enriched his church with his great wealth; in his struggle with Cenwulf he proved himself a man of courage, and his political conduct suggests that he had no small ability. He was succeeded by a Kentish abbot named Feologeld, and also called Swithred, who died in less than three months after his consecration. Ceolnoth was elected in his place, probably also in 832, and was consecrated and received his pall in 833.[1] He is supposed to have been a West Saxon, and no doubt owed his see to Ecgbert's influence. He crowned the friendly relations between the Church and the West Saxon house. At a witenagemot held at Kingston, in Surrey, in 838, he made a perpetual alliance between himself and his successors, and Ecgbert, Æthelwulf, and their heirs. The kings confirmed Baldred's grant of Malling to Christ Church, and promised liberties to the ancient monasteries under their protection. In return, the archbishop promised that he and his successors would maintain a perpetual friendship with them and their heirs, and would help them in all times of need. The archbishop's promise was kept, and the

The see of Canterbury and the West Saxon kings.

[1] On the difficulty as to the date of Ceolnoth's succession see *Councils and Eccl. Docs.* iii. 609, 611. That Ceolnoth was a West Saxon is asserted by the late E. W. Robertson, *Essays*, pp. 196, 200, who probably had some authority, though he does not refer to it, and seems to be making a pure assumption when he says that Feologeld's election was quietly set aside by Ecgbert. The dates in the text are those adopted by Bishop Stubbs, whose arguments seem, as usual, to rest on a secure foundation.

West Saxon house, which was at last enabled by the wisdom and energy of Alfred and his successors to bring the work of Ecgbert to a triumphant end in the union of the English people, received constant and valuable support from the Church.

Unhappily this support was not given without some loss of spirituality of character on the part of the bishops and clergy. With the advance towards national unity, government became a more complicated matter than in the days of small kingdoms, and the crown needed educated ministers. At the Frankish court Ecgbert had seen how profitably churchmen might be employed in the service of the crown; they brought to it a training and knowledge not to be found among the laity, and they had not the same temptation to family aggrandisement He and his successors constantly employed the clergy in secular affairs. An attempt to sketch the part taken by churchmen in the administration of the kingdom may, for convenience sake, be deferred until we have arrived at a time when the machinery of government was complete. Yet it is necessary to notice here, that the part taken by Bishop Ealhstan in a military expedition by no means stands alone. The presence of bishops and clergy in campaigns will meet us continually. Bishops were sometimes in joint command of expeditions, at other times a bishop would act with the ealdorman in leading the force of his diocese to join the main army, while generally one or more of them would come to a battlefield as the chaplains of the king. Many clergy were slain in battle, specially during the viking invasions. Yet they did not mingle in actual fighting. There may have been exceptions to this abstention, and certainly, during the later Danish wars, it became necessary to forbid clergy to wear arms and fight. As a rule, however, the bishops and clergy used only spiritual weapons, and, while fighting was in progress, offered the sacrifice of the mass, and remained in prayer for the success of their countrymen.

Secular employment of bishops and clergy.

The promise made by the kings to Archbishop Ceolnoth with reference to a certain class of monasteries is suggestive of the progress of change in English monasticism. The rights of founders and their kin, the source of abuses noted by Bede, were strengthened by the principle of dependence on a lord in social life. It was in

Decline of monasticism.

accordance with the general trend of society that a convent should have a lord who represented the original grantor of their land. This lay lord had a right to the spiritual services of his house, and seems to have claimed to appoint its ruler, while on his side he was bound to protect, and was expected to enrich it. Kings were lords of the larger number and the more important of the monasteries, and the authority of the West Saxon kings in this respect would seem, from the agreement of 838, to have been increased by the fact, or theory, that the monasteries founded in their dominions in ancient times, which claimed to belong only to their religious superiors, and to be "free monasteries," had commended themselves to Ecgbert and Æthelwulf, taking them as their lords and protectors.

The bishops were strongly adverse to the lordship of laymen over monasteries. Apart from their power over the monasteries which formed part of the possessions of their sees, they declared themselves in the Legatine Council of 787 to be the "spiritual lords" of all the monasteries in their dioceses, and claimed that monastic elections should be free from lay control. This claim was urged in the councils of the southern province of 803 and 816. At the same time in the council of 816 the bishops seem to arrogate to themselves a larger part in monastic elections than is assigned to their order by St. Benedict; they declare that they have the right of choosing abbots and abbesses with the consent and advice of the family of the house. The Kingston agreement, which recognises the bishops as the spiritual lords of the anciently free monasteries, described as then under the lordship of the kings, and guarantees that elections in them should be free according to the rule, does not appear to apply to any other religious houses.

Repeated injunctions by conciliar authority that convents should live according to their rule suggest departure from it. Monastic life was declining. In the north, irregularities even at Wearmouth and Jarrow had evoked remonstrances from Alcuin. In the south, religious women no longer dwelt in the monasteries of Bath and Gloucester. Offa is said to have refounded them, and given Gloucester over to secular clerks. So, too, Christ Church, Canterbury, is said to have fallen into the hands of seculars during

the archiepiscopate of Ceolnoth (833-870). In this case, however, there is evidence of a gradual change. Archbishop Wulfred gave a charter to the "family" of Christ Church (the use here and elsewhere of *familia*, a looser term than *conventus*, is noteworthy), in which he speaks of them as clergy, and allows them to hold certain houses as private and heritable property, though he enjoins on them the use of the common dormitory and refectory. It is probable that this command was an attempt at reformation, and in any case his charter represents the family of Christ Church as living, in 813, like Chrodegang's canons rather than like monks. Notices of definite acts handing over monasteries to secular clergy may, indeed, generally be taken as attempts to explain a change which took place gradually. This change was completed by the viking invasions.

Forty years after their descents on Lindisfarne and Jarrow, the vikings began again to attack England. Meanwhile they had made many raids in Ireland, and had wrought much evil in the western islands; had destroyed St. Columba's monastery in Iona and slain all the monks there, then sixty-eight in number. The religion of these invaders was much the same as that of our heathen forefathers—a branch of Teutonic paganism; it does not appear in literature until a later period when it had received additions due to contact with Christianity. In character they were brave, cruel, greedy, and treacherous. They came first to plunder, and later, when they found out the weakness of Christian countries, to conquer and to settle. Everywhere their fury fell most heavily on ecclesiastical persons and things; they sacked and burnt churches, tortured and slew priests and monks, and violated consecrated virgins. While it may well be that their heathen rage was excited by the fierce wars by which the Franks had propagated Christianity, their invasions were not undertaken from a religious motive; they came to gain treasure, and specially gold, which played an important part in their heroic legends as "the ringing gold, the fire-red hoard," for which Siegfried dared the curse. In churches and monasteries, gold, and silken hangings, and rich things of all kinds were to be found guarded only by defenceless men and women. The vikings.

In spite of their heathen rage, their beliefs lost hold

upon them in the lands they invaded. Unlike our forefathers, they were brought under the influence of Churches in an advanced state of organisation, and of teachers who were ready to expound to them a purer creed, and offer them sacramental mysteries in the place of heathen magic. Accordingly, the Northmen who settled here, and indeed in other Christian lands, accepted Christianity either at the time of their settlement or not long afterwards. Before the period of settlement many terrible raids were made on England. During Ecgbert's reign the viking invaders came from Ireland, whither they had already begun to establish themselves. In 835 a fleet came to Sheppey, where Sexburh's minster stood, and made an entrenchment. The next year Ecgbert fought with them at Charmouth in Dorset, and was defeated, and there Bishops Wigthen and Hereferth were both slain. In 838, the year of the king's agreement with the Church, Ecgbert inflicted a signal defeat on the vikings and their West Welsh allies at Hingston Down in Cornwall. He died in 839, and was buried in the minster at Winchester.

Ecgbert was succeeded by his son Æthelwulf, who had been brought up by the wise and learned Swithun at Winchester. It is said that he had received subdeacon's orders, and was released from them by the pope; but this is mere legend. A brave warrior like all his line, he was also deeply religious, and had a desire, which may be connected with his father's long residence in Gaul, for a higher culture than was then to be found in his own land. His religion was not of a lofty kind, for he was superstitious and neglectful of his kingly duties. The decay of learning, and the consciousness of a decline from the high religious standard of earlier days, caused many to seek refuge in superstition from the terror of the impending storm of viking invasion. In Northumbria, one Pehtred had written an account of a deacon named Nial, who pretended to have been raised from the dead, and of a letter which he said had been sent down from Heaven, commanding a stricter observance of Sunday, together with other foolish and heretical matters. The Sunday question evidently agitated many minds, for Æthelwulf was much troubled by a story of an Anglian priest, who declared that it had been revealed to him that, unless

Æthelwulf and St. Swithun.

men kept Sunday more strictly, the pagans would waste the land with fire and sword. The king thought that he could ward off this danger most effectually by a pilgrimage to Rome. He made some arrangements for his journey, but his design was hindered for a time by a renewal of the invasions.

He had two excellent ministers, who are said to have done what they could to stir him up to action. They were both churchmen, Bishop Ealhstan and his own old tutor, Swithun. Ealhstan, who held the see of Sherborne for forty-four years (824-868), was his treasurer and war minister; he provided the king with forces, and, once at least, marched against the enemy in person in conjunction with the ealdorman of the people of Somerset, and defeated them. Swithun is said to have confined himself to ecclesiastical administration, though he was probably the king's constant adviser on all matters. Æthelwulf gave him the bishopric of Winchester in 852, and he held it until his death ten years later. His true claims to honour are obscured by silly legends, yet it is possible to discern that, in addition to his piety and learning, he was munificent and able; he built a stone bridge across the Itchen at the foot of Winchester, and persuaded the king to defend the minster with a wall, on the foundations of which the present wall of the close doubtless stands. After the battle of Hingston the attacks of the vikings from Ireland seem to have ceased, and a new series of attacks began in 840, made by Danish fleets, which sailed round Frisia, and landed both in England and Gaul. Among other raids of the time the vikings made slaughters at London and Rochester, and, according to one account, at Canterbury, though this is a misreading for Quentavic, where the neighbouring shrine of Saint Judoc would excite their cupidity. Again, in 850, Rorik, "the gall of Christendom," sailed up the Stour with a large fleet and stormed Canterbury, and thence sailed to London, defeated the Mercian king, who attempted to relieve his city, and slaughtered the inhabitants.

In this calamitous time, in 848, Æthelwulf's wife Osburh, a noble and pious lady, bore her youngest son Ælfred, or Alfred,[1] at Wantage in Berkshire. Young as he was in 853, his father in that year sent him to Rome, Alfred, *b.* 848.

[1] His biographer elsewhere says that Alfred was in his eleventh year in

probably along with an embassy charged to arrange his own projected visit, for Æthelwulf desired to obtain the pope's blessing for the child. Leo IV. invested the boy with the insignia of the Roman consulship, and is said, at Æthelwulf's request, to have "hallowed him to king, and taken him for his bishop's son." As Alfred had three brothers older than himself, such a royal hallowing would have been somewhat premature. It is probable that the rite performed by the pope was that of confirmation, and that the unction used at confirmation, together with the ceremony of investing the child with the consular insignia, presented themselves to the mind of the chronicler in after-years as a consecration to the kingly office.

Æthelwulf's donation.

Although the Danes had made a step towards conquest and settlement, by passing the winter of 854-855 in Sheppey, Æthelwulf would no longer delay his pilgrimage. Before he left his kingdom, he dedicated a tenth part of his possessions in land to the service of God for the redemption of his own soul and the souls of his predecessors. What this dedication imported is not certain, for the charters which relate to it are of doubtful authority. It is, however, generally accepted that being distressed by the viking invasions, Æthelwulf sought to purchase divine help by a sacrifice of a portion of his wealth, both official and private. He accordingly released a tenth part of the folcland in his kingdom, whether held by ecclesiastics or laymen, from all burdens, except the three universal public charges; he gave away a tenth part of his private estate to churches and his thegns, and he ordered that for every ten hides of his land a poor man should be clothed and fed. Whatever his donation was, it could, of course, apply only to his immediate kingdom; it certainly had no connection with the tithe of increase, and only claims a place in the history of tithes as an illustration of the prevalence of the idea that the tenth of a man's wealth is sacred.

853, and this would explain some difficulties in the narrative; for example, a child of five years was young to be sent on so distant a journey (see Bishop Stubbs, Introd. to *Gesta Regum*, ii.) Yet the biographer bases his calculations on the date 849. The Preface to the so-called Winchester version of the *Sax. Chron.*, a strictly contemporary authority, is conclusive. It says that Alfred was twenty-three at his accession in 871; he was therefore born in 848.

Æthelwulf journeyed to Rome in 855, taking Alfred with him, and remained there a whole year. Many and splendid were the gifts which he presented to Benedict III. and his church. Among them were a crown, two dishes and two images of pure gold, and a silken stole and other vestments embroidered by English hands. To all the bishops and clergy of Rome he gave a piece of gold, and a piece of silver to all of meaner degree. Like Offa, he promised a yearly offering to the Roman see, which he afterwards confirmed by will, and so helped to establish the payment of Peter's pence. While he was at Rome he caused the "Saxon school," a hostel founded in earlier times for the entertainment of English clergy and pilgrims, to be rebuilt, for it had been destroyed by fire. His pilgrimage.

On his way home Æthelwulf visited the Frankish monarch, Charles the Bald, and on October 1, 856, his wife Osburh having, as we may suppose, died, he married Charles's daughter Judith, a child of not more than thirteen years. Although it was contrary to West Saxon custom that a king's wife should be crowned or styled queen, Charles caused Archbishop Hincmar to crown his daughter on her marriage. When Æthelwulf returned to England, he found that the witan of Wessex, with Bishop Ealhstan at their head, were unwilling to receive him, and had chosen his son Æthelbald as their king. Æthelbald had probably received the government of the western part of his father's dominions during Æthelwulf's absence, and refused to resign it. The witan may have resented Æthelwulf's violation of national custom, and have preferred an active and warlike king, such as Æthelbald was, to his idle and pious father, with his foreign tastes and foreign bride. Æthelwulf resigned the western part of his kingdom to his son, and reigned only over Kent, and the other eastern lands which had been annexed to the West Saxon kingdom. On his death, in 858, Æthelbald outraged Christian morality by marrying his father's youthful widow. That the bishops condemned this union is probable, but the assertion that the king did penance for his sin, and sent Judith back to her father, rests on no evidence worthy of consideration. She returned to Gaul after Æthelbald's death, married Baldwin the Forester, Count of Queen Judith.

Flanders, and became by him the ancestress of Matilda, wife of William the Conqueror. Æthelbald died in 860, and was succeeded by his next brother Æthelbert, who, after a reign of about six years, was succeeded by his brother Æthelred.

From 866 the viking invasions assume a new character; they are no longer merely raids for plunder, a period of conquest begins. "The army," as it was called, gathered by various leaders, and recruited both from Denmark and from the viking fleets from the Rhine to the Seine, invaded the land and remained in it, conquering it first in one direction and then in another. The invaders were constantly reinforced, and every river was an open gate through which fresh foes poured into the land. Each band on landing entrenched itself for a while, until it had seized horses, and then rode inland. All were men of war, and hastily gathered local levies stood little chance against them. The army in which Ivar and Ubbe were among the chief leaders entered by the rivers and lagoons of East Anglia, and the next year invaded Northumbria. York was stormed on November 1, 867. Some remains of the culture of earlier days seem to have lingered on in the Church of York amidst incessant civil strife. Eanbald II. had been succeeded by an archbishop named Wulfsige, and Wulfsige by Wigmund, who, about 850, when there was a gleam of peace in the North, wrote to Lupus, Abbot of Ferrières and St. Judoc's, at Quentavic, requesting a renewal of friendly intercourse. In his reply the abbot asked for a loan of books from the York library that he might have them copied, and among them for two of Bede's biblical works. Such light as still remained at York was quenched in blood, and the library doubtless perished. The vikings spread themselves over Deira. St. Hilda's house was destroyed, and the place where it stood appears later under its Scandinavian name as Whitby; all the monasteries and churches of the province probably shared its fate. Archbishop Wulfhere, Wigmund's successor, appears to have first found shelter in Wharfedale, and later, with a puppet king whom the Danes set up beyond the Tyne. He and the king were both driven out by the Danes in 873, and after another year's exile he was allowed to return to York.

The fall of York.

In 870 the army invaded East Anglia and destroyed all the minsters that stood thickly in the country. At Medeshampstead, or Peterborough, the Danes burnt the abbey and massacred the abbot and all the monks. And as they did there, so did they at Bardney, Crowland, Ely, and every minster to which they came. A wonderfully vivid account of the resistance which they met with in East Anglia, and the havoc that they wrought on its churches, occurs in a book written, as we have it, in the fourteenth century, and of no historical value except as preserving traditions. The East Anglian king, Eadmund, fought with them, was defeated, and suffered martyrdom for Christ's sake. It is said that on his refusal to deny Christ, the Danes, on November 20, bound him to a tree at Hoxne in Suffolk, shot at him with arrows, and finally cut off his head. With him also was slain Hunbert, Bishop of Elmham. Very shortly after Eadmund's death he was revered as a saint and martyr; his body was translated, in 903, to the minster which Sigbert had built at Bedrichsworth, and which became in after-times the stately abbey of St. Edmund's Bury. The story of his martyrdom was told to Dunstan by an eyewitness, an old man who had been the king's armour-bearer.

The martyrdom of St. Eadmund, 870.

In the midst of these calamities Archbishop Ceolnoth died on February 4, 870, and was succeeded by Æthelred, who is described as Bishop of Wiltshire at the time of his election to Canterbury. The Danes next invaded Wessex. Æthelred, who was nobly supported by his younger brother Alfred, resisted them manfully, and inflicted a severe defeat upon them at Ashdown in Berkshire; but they soon gathered strength again and routed the West Saxons at Basing, and again at Merton in Surrey, where Heahmund, who had succeeded Ealhstan as Bishop of Sherborne, was slain. Soon after his defeat at Merton, Æthelred died on April 15, 871, and was succeeded by Alfred.

Invasion of Wessex.

Very heavy was the burden which the new king took up, for in the year of his accession nine pitched battles besides many skirmishes are said to have been fought to the south of the Thames. Though he struggled manfully against the invaders he lost ground, for they were

Alfred king, 871–900.

constantly reinforced. The year after his accession, the Danes encamped before London, and in his distress he vowed to send alms to Rome and to the Christians in India. Nevertheless, the Danes took the city and colonised it. They were beginning to settle down in the country which they had conquered. After burning the minster at Repton, the burying-place of the Mercian kings, they drove out Burhred, the King of the Mercians, Alfred's brother-in-law, apportioned the eastern part of his kingdom among themselves, and set up a puppet king over the western part. Burhred went on a pilgrimage to Rome, and died there. Bernicia was ravaged by Halfdan, who destroyed its monasteries and churches, the holy places of which we have read so much. At Wearmouth and Jarrow, at Tynemouth, Coldingham, and Lindisfarne, the servants of God were tortured, mocked, and slain.

Since the first slaughter of the monks of Lindisfarne in 793, the church seems to have been served mainly by secular clergy.

The wanderings of St. Cuthbert.

When the monastery was again threatened in 875, the bishop, Eardulf, and the Abbot of Luel, or Carlisle, which as one of St. Cuthbert's foundations was dependent on Lindisfarne, remembering Cuthbert's charge concerning his body, took up the coffin containing "the incorrupt body of their father." They placed in it the head of St. Oswald, the relics of St. Aidan, and the bones of some other bishops, and carrying it with them, left their holy isle with the younger clergy. All who remained were slaughtered. The fugitives wandered about with their sacred burden for eight years, seeking in vain a place where they might rest in safety. Once they tried to cross from the Solway to Ireland and were beaten back by a storm, and then it was that a precious volume of the Gospels, believed to be the "Lindisfarne Gospels," which Bishop Eadfrith had written, fell into the sea, was washed ashore, and recovered. The volume was preserved at Durham in the twelfth century. At last, in 883, when peace was restored in the North, the bishop and his company settled at Chester-le-Street, near the present Durham.

By the beginning of 878 Alfred's power of resistance was at an end. The Danes under Guthorm dominated Wessex as far west as Selwood Forest, and Alfred retreated with his personal war-band into the woods and marshes of

Somerset. Shortly before his misfortunes reached their climax he seems to have had a dispute with Archbishop Æthelred, who apparently complained of the king to John VIII. The pope encouraged the archbishop in his resistance to the king, and hinted that Alfred might lose his kingdom if he persisted in his perverseness. Neither the cause nor the issue of the dispute is known; though it may be guessed from the pope's letter that it concerned the temporal rights of the see of Canterbury. This incident, in itself of little importance, may be taken along with the fact that some jealousies and disloyalty existed among the West Saxons, as affording a suggestion for the late and wholly untrustworthy legend that in the early years of his reign Alfred was harsh and arrogant, and that his misfortunes were the result of his own conduct. Among the legends of Alfred in Somerset, a story that St. Cuthbert appeared to him and promised him victory, probably represents an early effort to exalt Cuthbert's fame in Southern England, and specially to connect it with the house of Alfred with a view to the profit of the saint's church.

Alfred's retreat.

After Easter (March 23) Alfred and his men fortified the isle of Athelney, formed at the junction of the sluggish waters of the Tone and the Parret, in the midst of inaccessible marshes. The fate of Christian England hung upon the king, who, though brought so low, did not lose faith or courage. He kept his men and his friends in Somerset in good heart by making sudden attacks upon the foe, and set himself to raise a new force. His summonses were obeyed, and in the second week of May he was at the head of an army. He defeated the Danes at Ethandune, probably Edington, in Wiltshire, and besieged them in their fortification. After a siege of fourteen days they submitted to him; Guthorm promised to leave Wessex and to receive baptism. Three weeks later Guthorm and thirty of his chief warriors came to Alfred at Aller, near Langport in Somerset, and there Guthorm was baptized, Alfred standing godfather to him and giving him the name of Æthelstan. He then went with Alfred to Wedmore, where on the eighth day the chrisom-fillet was taken from his forehead, and the king gave gifts to him and his men.

His victory.

The attempt to conquer England had almost succeeded; its failure was due to Alfred's steadfastness in adversity and his perseverance in a seemingly hopeless conflict. By preserving the south of England from heathen conquest he made possible the triumph of the gospel, the restoration of the Church, and the establishment of a national monarchy. By his treaty with Guthorm, and probably other treaties with the Danes to the north of the Thames, the land was divided between the English and Danes. Alfred had his West Saxon kingdom, and the western part of the old Mercian land to a line defined later as marked by the Thames, the Lea, the Ouse, and Watling Street. To the north and east of this line lay the Danish land. This included Halfdan's Northumbrian kingdom, the eastern half of the old Mercian land under the rule of the five Danish boroughs, and East Anglia and Essex, where Guthorm and his host settled. London, which at first remained in the hands of the Danes, was before long acquired by Alfred, who colonised it and caused it to be fortified. The division of England led to its political consolidation. By Alfred's peace with the Danes the immediate dominion of the West Saxon house was enlarged, for he gained the western part of Mercia. He wisely committed his Mercian subjects to the rule of an ealdorman named Æthelred, one of their royal house, and gave him his daughter Æthelflæd in marriage. Both Æthelred and his wife, who became famous as the "Lady of the Mercians," contributed largely to the reconquest of the Midlands, and after they had passed away, their country became fully incorporated with Wessex. For in Mercia, and in the other old heptarchic divisions, the extinction of the native kingships left the West Saxon king the natural lord of all the English, so that as the house of Alfred won back the country from Danish rule, the people of every part of it became subjects of the king of the English nation.

Its effects.

Turning from the political side of Alfred's victorious peace to that which concerns our proper subject, we may regard the baptism of Guthorm as the starting-point of a series of conquests won by the Church. If few events in these spiritual conquests are known to us, they are not the less certain. Guthorm reigned as a Christian king, and, save in one war, was faithful

Conversion of Danish settlers.

to his agreement with Alfred. His Danes, who were near akin to the people of East Anglia, quickly became one with them, and followed their king's example in accepting Christianity. So, too, in the North, though Halfdan died a heathen, his successor Guthred was a Christian and, if we may believe the Durham story, a special devotee of St. Cuthbert. And so throughout the whole Danelaw, the Danes had not long settled down among the English before they renounced heathenism, and in less than a hundred years after their heathen forefathers conquered the North, gave three archbishops to the English Church.

AUTHORITIES.—The *Saxon Chronicle*, which at 855 becomes virtually contemporary. Until 870 *Councils and Eccl. Docs.* vol. iii. still gives much help. Besides the general authorities previously noted, as Florence of Worcester, William of Malmesbury, and Symeon of Durham, who relates the wanderings of St. Cuthbert's body in his *Historia Dunelm. Eccl.* ap. *Opera*, Rolls series, we have Æthelweard's *Chronicle*, written by a layman, a great-great-grandson of King Æthelred, in the latter part of the tenth century, which, though jejune and obscure, is of some value, specially for the time of Alfred; it is printed in *Monumenta Hist. Brit.* pp. 491-521. We also have the delightful work *De Rebus gestis Ælfredi*, attributed to Asser, which may be divided into two parts, the first consisting of general history from 849 to 887, apparently founded on the Chronicle, and largely translated from it, and the second part containing the Life of Alfred to 893. It comes from one ancient manuscript, MS. Cotton. Otho A. xii., used by F. Wise in his edition of Asser, Oxford, 1722, who collated it with a sixteenth-cent. MS. in C.C.C. Cambridge. The Cottonian MS. was burnt in 1731, but an engraving of it proves that it belonged to the early part of the eleventh century. The Life as we have it was certainly written or edited by a Welshman; it has received many interpolations, some of them well ascertained. Florence of Worcester, who died 1118, uses an ancient Life of Alfred which contained much that is in our "Asser," but does not mention the name of the author. William of Malmesbury also used a Life which seems to have been the same with that we now have, with the exception, of course, of later interpolations. T. Wright attacked the genuineness of the Life in *Archæologia*, xxiv.; it was defended by Pauli, and accepted by Freeman; and Bishop Stubbs, while pointing out the grave doubts that arise from the present condition of the text, is not disposed to question the general truth of the work as history, or to throw suspicion on its genuineness and authenticity (see Will. of Malms. *Gesta Regum*, Pref. vol. ii., Rolls series). While there seems no sufficient reason to refuse to believe that the work was written by Asser, it cannot be accepted as a settled matter, for some of the chief difficulties in it are concerned with the relations between Alfred and Asser. The text has been tampered with so much that its statements must be received with caution, except when supported by other good authority, but there is no reason for a wholesale rejection. Wise's edition is reproduced in the *Monumenta Hist. Brit.* Among modern books Keary's *Vikings in Western Christendom*, London, 1891; Pauli's *Life of Alfred*, translated by Thorpe, Bohn's Lib., London, 1893 (reprint); and Green's *Conquest of England*, have been found useful.

CHAPTER XIV

ALFRED

The viking invasions well-nigh destroyed all religion and learning in England. Some idea of these effects on the Church may be gained from the changes which they brought about in the episcopate. They entirely cut off the see of York from the life of the Church in the South. Little is known of its history for about a hundred years, save the names of successive archbishops, and when at last it emerges from darkness we shall find its archbishop acting as the political head of a separate people, and as almost independent of the English king. From the Danish wars to the Norman Conquest, Northumbria, though soon nominally brought into subjection, can scarcely be said to have been thoroughly united to the rest of England; it remained a separate land though under the kings of the English. The general tone of morality was lower than in the South, and the Church to no small extent shared in the isolation and the backward condition of the society in which it was placed. The see of Lindisfarne ceased to exist, though the bishopric survived at Chester-le-Street until the removal of the see to Durham in the last years of the tenth century. The bishopric of Hexham, which came to an end before the death of Ecgbert, was not revived. In the east the bishopric of Dunwich disappeared, the succession to Elmham seems to have been interrupted for nearly ninety years after the death of Bishop Hunbert in 870, and a gap of almost equal length occurs in our knowledge of the succession to the bishopric of Lindsey. In the Danish Midlands the Bishop

Effects of the viking invasions.

of Leicester fled to Dorchester in Oxfordshire, so as to be near the West Saxon border, and the succession to Lichfield appears to have been broken.

Throughout the districts occupied by the Danes the churches had for the most part perished. Things must have been better in Wessex and the Mercian territory of the West Saxon kings, yet even in those lands the churches which had escaped the fury of the invaders were falling into decay. The clergy were almost wholly uneducated and neglectful of their calling. A letter of Pope John VIII. (872–882) to the archbishops, Æthelred of Canterbury and Wulfhere of York, and the bishops generally, tells us that the English clergy had adopted the dress of laymen. The pope required them to resume their clerical garb. This laxity in the matter of dress was significant of other irregularities; the clergy lived as laymen, and many priests had taken wives in violation of the obligation of continence.

Laxity among the clergy.

These disorders must be attributed partly to the relaxation of discipline and the deterioration of character brought about by the troubles of the times, and partly to the difficulty of obtaining fit persons to fill the places of the priests who had perished in the wars. Marriage was always allowed to clerics of the lower orders, such as readers, cantors, and acolytes; while it was forbidden to those in holy orders—priests, deacons, and subdeacons—a married man seeking admission into the higher orders being compelled to separate from his wife. The scarcity of candidates for the priesthood consequent on the viking invasions, during which many priests were slain, and the schools for the education of the clergy held in the episcopal minsters were broken up, probably caused the admission to the priesthood of a number of married clerics of the lower orders who disregarded the obligation of continence. Pope John wrote to Burhred of Mercia condemning these disorders, and about 890 Fulk, Archbishop of Reims and Abbot of St. Bertin's, sent a letter to Alfred saying that he heard that English priests and bishops lived with women, and that there were people who defended such things, though he knew that Alfred was endeavouring to check them. Fulk also wrote to the same effect to Plegmund, Æthelred's successor at Canterbury,

Its causes.

encouraging him to extirpate these and similar abuses. The consciousness of living in violation of their obligations tended to lower the standard of clerical character generally.

Monks and lay folk.

The monastic life may be said to have been virtually extinct. Many monasteries were totally destroyed. Others, specially in Wessex, had churches and buildings still standing, and here and there some books would be left. Even these monasteries were falling into decay, the books were unread, and the churches were served by secular priests, for the most part married men, who preserved the monastic name merely as the successors to monastic property. The laity were rude and ignorant. Superstitious and even heathen rites were openly performed. The long period of war had encouraged violence and lawlessness, and the poor were oppressed by the rich and powerful. Morality had decayed; concubinage, and the marriage of persons of near kin, and of women dedicated to God, were not disapproved by public opinion; the marriage tie was loosened, and divorces without due cause were common.

Decay of religion and learning.

Alfred mourned over the sad change that had come upon his people. He called to mind, he says, "the happy times" that once had been, when "the kings who ruled obeyed God and His evangelists," and when "the religious orders were earnest about doctrine, and learning, and all the services they owed to God." And he remembered, "before all was ravaged and burnt, how the churches throughout all the English kin were filled with treasures and books." Whereas, he tells us, at the beginning of his reign, "so clean was the decay that there were very few on this side of Humber who could understand their rituals in English, or translate a letter from Latin into English, and I believe not many beyond Humber. So few were there," he adds, "that I cannot remember a single one south of Thames when I came to the kingship."

Alfred's labours and difficulties.

He set himself to restore religion and learning among his people. His work was done in spite of discouragements, and of many other cares and occupations. As he found it difficult, and in one case impossible, to make his people carry out his schemes for their defence and prosperity, he must have found them at least

equally unwilling to submit to religious and intellectual improvement. We are told that he was forced to blame his officers very sharply for their ignorance, and that his severity frightened them, and caused them to seek to learn from their children and others who had been taught to read in the king's new school. Though the later years of his reign were generally peaceful, a fresh viking invasion under Hasting, which was backed up by the Danes of Guthorm's kingdom, sorely tried his strength. At the outset of the war, he forced Hasting to submit to him and to consent to the baptism of his two sons, to whom Alfred and his son-in-law Æthelred, the Ealdorman of Mercia, stood sponsors. But the viking leader soon violated his agreement, and it was only after a struggle which lasted for three years that the Danish army was broken up. Alfred was constantly engaged in strengthening the defences of his kingdom; he built and manned a fleet which proved more than a match for the pirates, and he reorganised the land-force. He also, we are told, took part in, and controlled, the administration of justice, causing the decisions pronounced by his officials to be laid before him, that he might see that they were just and that the poor were not injured. He engaged in all kingly works and pursuits, directed the building and decoration of royal dwellings, instructed his goldsmiths in their art, and his huntsmen and falconers in their crafts, which he loved and well understood.

His perseverance.

Yet, with all this, he found time to teach his people wisdom and righteousness; for he valued time, as we know from the story of his invention of candles set in lanterns to mark the hours. His many-sided activity will seem more wonderful if we accept his biographer's statement that during the greater part of his life he was constantly subject to painful attacks of illness. This physical infirmity has been brought into later legends, but that is no reason why we should not believe that it existed. Alfred was not a man to be daunted by difficulty; he earnestly desired that his people should enjoy true happiness, and having a lofty conception of his kingly calling, laboured with all his might to enable them to attain it. The spirit in which he worked is illustrated by the noble words with which he ends a short statement of his theory of a king's

duty: "This I can truly now say, that so long as I have lived I have striven to live worthily, and after my life to be remembered by posterity for good works."

His desire that his people should learn to look on the will of God as the guide of their lives, is illustrated by his code of laws. The West Saxons, the Kentish men, and the Mercians had each their own laws, and as they were united under his kingship he desired that they should all live under one law. Accordingly, he compiled a code from the laws of the three peoples to be binding on all alike. In this code he disclaims any attempt to make new laws. To him and the men of his time and race, law was the embodiment of good custom, theoretically declared by the people, and put into writing with their counsel and consent. With characteristic modesty he says, "I dared not write laws of mine own, for I cannot tell what may seem good to those who come after, but I have taken what seemed best from the times of Ine, my kinsman, of Offa, King of the Mercians, and of Æthelbert, the first of the English kin to receive baptism, and the rest I have passed by."

His code of laws.

His code, like those of other kings, contains ecclesiastical as well as civil laws; it stands alone in the way that it represents the divine decrees as the basis of Christian law. Beginning with a paraphrase of the Ten Commandments, in which the Second Commandment, according to the present reckoning of the English Church, is left out, and a tenth is supplied from Exodus, chap. xx. 23, it recites virtually the whole of Exodus, chaps. xxi. and xxii., and the first part of chap. xxiii. Then, after some words of preface, comes the conciliar epistle in Acts, chap. xv., in which the church at Jerusalem orders that no greater burden should be laid on Gentile converts than was needful. Did the large-minded king, who had been the means of bringing so many heathen to baptism, design by this extract to impress on the Church of his own day and nation, that not more should be required of these new Christians than was essential to Christian life? He next copies the Lord's command, "that which ye will that other men do not unto you, do ye not that to other men," and adds the comment that he who keeps that law "need heed no other doom-book." Then he ends this

Its Christian basis.

long introduction to his code with an account of how the institution of the money payments assigned by English law to various offences was due to the Christian feeling of bishops, and others of the witan, which, though not historically true, is interesting as an illustration of his view that the law of Christ was the foundation of the law of a Christian state.

Alfred's wishes for his people.

His efforts for the intellectual improvement of his people show that he had a clear perception of the special needs of his time. A religion that was contented with intellectual darkness might enslave the conscience without elevating the soul, and was sure to sink into a superstition which would fail to ennoble life or reform the morals of society. With such a religion as that he would not be content, for he sought to raise his people to a higher level of civilisation and morality. The viking invasions had thrown them back into a state of comparative barbarism, and the religion which he desired for them was such as would rescue them from degradation, and not such as that which had so strong a hold on the mind of his own father. Having saved his people from conquest, he set to work to save them from barbarism by giving them such means of education as lay in his power.

His own education.

No part of his work was more congenial to him than this, for he loved learning, laboured hard to acquire it, and lamented that he had not learnt more in his youth. It is said that owing to the neglect of his elders he did not learn to read until he was in his twelfth year. Apparently in connection with his learning to read, his biographer tells the famous story that his mother offered to give a "book" of English poetry with illuminated capital letters to that one of her sons who should learn to read it, and that Alfred won the prize. If this story means that he then learnt to read, it cannot be true, for his mother Osburh was dead in 856, at least three years before Alfred's eleventh birthday, and it cannot be supposed that his step-mother Judith, herself a girl of thirteen, would have troubled herself about the education of her step-sons. Besides, the word used by the biographer means mother, and is never used for a step-mother. The story, however, appears to mean that the child learnt to say the poem written in the "book," which may not have been

more than a single page, and that he thenceforward loved English poems. The incident, then, may well have taken place long before Alfred's twelfth year, possibly on his return from his first visit to Rome, for it is certain that he was at home in 854. Alfred's learning must not be exaggerated. Though, with the help of others, he translated books, it is doubtful whether he could write with ease. He perhaps did not advance much further in writing than Charlemagne, who tried hard to accustom his fingers to form the letters, but found that it was too late in life to attain the art. Nor could he have gained a thorough acquaintance with Latin, for it was not until after he had been king for several years that he learnt to read Latin books, and he used to regret that he could not read them better. Nevertheless, he had by that time gained a good stock of knowledge, for, whenever he had leisure, he used to make one of his clerks read to him, the reader apparently translating the Latin as he went on, so that he knew the contents of several books before he could read them himself.

Alfred had himself suffered from lack of teaching, and he saw that his wishes for his people could not be carried out unless he could procure learned men to help him. Sorrowfully he dwelt upon the time when "foreigners came to this land in search of wisdom and lore," whereas now, he says, "we must get teachers from abroad if we would have them." Some helpers, however, he found in Mercia, in the western part of the old kingdom, where learning seems to have been not wholly extinct. Thence he called to him Werferth, Bishop of Worcester, an active and godly prelate, versed in the Scriptures and other learning, and Plegmund, a priest, who for fear of the Danes had lived as a hermit on an island near Chester. Plegmund became one of the king's principal teachers and gave him much help. On the death of Archbishop Æthelred, of whom we know little, in 889, Alfred appointed Plegmund to succeed him, and he was consecrated in 890. No better appointment could have been made, and Fulk, the Archbishop of Reims, who took a lively interest in the affairs of the English Church, wrote to the king congratulating him on having fixed on a man so good, devout, and learned in ecclesiastical matters, to occupy

His English helpers in learning.

the see of Canterbury. Two other learned Mercian priests, Æthelstan and Werewulf, he also called to him and made them his chaplains.

He procured other helpers from foreign lands. At his request there came to him Grimbald, a priest and monk from the abbey of St. Bertin, at St. Omer, who was well skilled in church music and ecclesiastical learning. He had entered St. Bertin's as a child, had grown up there, and had become prior. On the death of the abbot in 892, the monks were anxious that Grimbald should succeed him, but the Frankish king overruled their wishes and gave the abbey to Archbishop Fulk, who sent Grimbald to Alfred with a letter of commendation. His coming to England may probably be fixed at 893. There also came to Alfred, John, called from his native land, the Old Saxon, a priest and monk of much learning and artistic skill, and, according to a tradition on which it would be dangerous to rely, another more famous John, an Irishman by birth, and thence called the Scot or "Erigena," who had long resided at the court of Charles the Bald.[1] This John the Scot was eminent as a philosopher and scholar. He had translated from the Greek the works attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite, and was the opponent of the extreme doctrine concerning predestination advocated by Gottschalk, and of the doctrine propounded by Paschasius Radbert with reference to the Eucharist, and known later as transubstantiation. Ever eager to obtain knowledge, Alfred welcomed all who could impart it to him, and, we are told, set aside a portion of his yearly revenue to be spent in rewarding them. Among them was the Northman Othere, a mariner who gave "his lord Alfred" an account of his voyages, telling him how he had sailed as far as the Gulf of Archangel to catch walruses, and how the whales there were smaller than in his own seas, and describing to him the Northmen's land,

His foreign helpers.

[1] The authority for the coming of John the Scot and for his death at Malmesbury is William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, ii. c. 122 (Rolls ser. i. 131, 132; see also Preface, cxliii. cxliv.), and *Gesta Pont.* v. c. 240 (Rolls ser. 392, 394). It would seem that Malmesbury confounds the two Johns and transfers the attack on the Old Saxon to his own house. Mr. R. L. Poole, however, in his *Illustrations of Mediæval Thought*, maintains Malmesbury's story. The question may be considered open, and the story is therefore briefly noticed in the text, but Mr. Poole's arguments have not convinced me.

and his own way of life at home. All which Alfred had written down for his people's instruction.

Of the learned men whom Alfred attracted to his court the one best known to us is Asser, a priest and monk of St. David's. It must, however, be confessed that a good part of our knowledge of him does not rest on a very satisfactory basis, for it comes from his Life of Alfred. While there can be little doubt that Asser wrote the king's life, and that much, if not all, that he wrote has come down to us, the book, as we have it, contains many interpolations and inconsistencies. Some of these, indeed, like the references to the foundation of the University of Oxford by Alfred, are now of no importance, because they are known to be late insertions, but others are still puzzling, and it is hazardous to rely absolutely on many things which the Life contains. Asser says that he was engaged on it in 894, and seems to imply that he came to Alfred shortly after Grimbald's arrival. He tells us that he met the king at Dene, in Sussex, and that Alfred invited him to enter his service, promising that he would requite him largely for what he gave up in his own land. Asser said that he would not desert his home, but that he would return to the king after six months. He fell sick of a fever at Winchester, and remained there for a year and a week. When he recovered he rejoined the king at a place which he calls Leonaford, and with the consent of his church promised to stay with him six months in each year. Then, he says, "I stayed with him eight months, during which I read to him all the books which we had at hand, for it is his constant wont by day and by night, whatever may be the hindrances of mind or body, either to read aloud, or to listen to others reading." He also tells us that Alfred gave him two minsters, at "Angersbury," probably Congresbury, and Banwell, both in Somerset, and that he afterwards gave him Exeter with all its *parochia*, or diocese, both in "Saxony," that is the English part of the diocese, and Cornwall.

Asser.

Asser, who died, possibly, in 909, and certainly after 904, was at the time of his death undoubtedly Bishop of Sherborne. The biographer's statement, therefore, seems to suggest one of those temporary additions to the West Saxon episcopate of which we have

Bishop of Sherborne.

already met with two instances. Alfred may have given him the minster at Exeter, and appointed him co-bishop with Wulfsige, Bishop of Sherborne, giving him charge of the people in the present Devonshire. The mention of Cornwall seems to confirm the genuineness of the biographer's statement, for it will be remembered that Ecgbert gave three estates in Cornwall to the see of Sherborne, and these as well as "Saxon" Devonshire would be under Asser's charge. As a Welshman, Asser would be among people of his own race. After the death of Wulfsige, of whom nothing is known after 892, he no doubt became sole bishop of the whole diocese of Sherborne.

Having procured the help of learned men, Alfred called on the English Church again to undertake its old work of education. He commanded his bishops to see that the sons of freemen, who were rich enough to afford the time, should be set to learn, so long as they were still too young for active work, until they were well able to read English writing, and those who expected promotion were afterwards to be taught Latin. Like Charlemagne, he had a school attached to his court in which he took deep interest. There the children of his nobles, and of many of lower rank, were taught to read and even write English and Latin. Æthelweard, his younger son, was educated there and is said to have become a good scholar, and his elder son Eadward and his third daughter Ælfthryth were also carefully taught, and learnt psalms, and read English books, and specially poems.

Alfred as an educator.

It was, we may believe, partly at least in order to promote education that Alfred founded monasteries, for it was from monastic schools that his people had in time past gained learning. He founded a house for monks at Athelney, his former stronghold, and made John the Old Saxon its first abbot, and a house for women at Shaftesbury, in Dorset, over which he appointed as abbess his second daughter Æthelgifu, who had weak health. At Winchester, he planned the foundation of a new minster close by the cathedral church, over which Grimbald was to be the first abbot. This church was built by Eadward, his son and successor, and was called the New Minster, while the cathedral church, which about a century later was called after St.

His monasteries. Athelney.

Swithun, was known as the Old Minster. Near, too, to the Old Minster he, or his wife, a pious lady named Ealhswith, built a house for women called the Nunna Minster. His monastery at Athelney seems to have been small; its little church, which was probably of wood, is described by one who saw it in the twelfth century as resting on four posts set in the ground, and to have had the unusual feature of four apses, one on each side of a quadrilateral nave. A tangible witness to Alfred's connection with Athelney, and perhaps also to his care for his monastery there, exists in "Alfred's jewel," now at Oxford, which was found near Athelney in 1693. It seems probable that this jewel may have been the handle of a precentor's staff used for beating time, and if so, it would be a gift from the king to the house of his foundation.

His minsters for women.

Alfred, we may believe, was anxious that his monasteries should be inhabited by men and women who would live a more truly monastic life than was then practised in English monasteries. If our Asser may be trusted, and is to be interpreted strictly, this was the case at Shaftesbury, for the noble ladies who joined his daughter there are described as *moniales*, and are said to have lived monastically. Whether they were really mynchens, who had taken the perpetual vows, is perhaps open to doubt. At Winchester, at all events, it was otherwise, for there Ealhswith's church was probably from the first, as it certainly was later, a "nuns' minster," a foundation for religious women, whose vow of chastity might be remitted by the king and the bishop, and who, though in many cases living together in common, did not invariably do so, and did not do so at Winchester, at least within three-quarters of a century after the house was founded.

The Frankish priests at Athelney.

For Athelney, the biographer tells us, Alfred could not find any monks; no men of his own people would consent to live a monastic life; so completely had monasticism lost its attraction for the English. He therefore imported "certain priests and deacons from over sea," and specially from Gaul, to people his house, along with servants to attend upon them, and scholars who were to be educated by Abbot John, in order that they might become monks when they grew up. The comment in the Biography on the total

decay of English monasticism is more like what a monk would have written after the Benedictine reformation, than what might be expected from a contemporary, and suggests the possibility of some tampering with the text in this part of the narrative. Nevertheless it is quite likely that Alfred desired that his house should not go to married clerks. This, however, does not necessarily imply that he objected to giving it to seculars, provided that they would live what was then held to be a monastic life. The foreigners whom he imported are described as priests and deacons, from which it would be natural to infer that they were seculars; that they are also called monks is no proof that they had taken the monastic vows, for the word "monk" was used as laxly as "monastery" or "minster."

Alfred's prime design both at Athelney and in his projected new minster at Winchester was the promotion of religious education rather than monastic reformation. He wished to establish a school at Athelney. The design of the founder. He knew that married clergy, living with their wives and families, would not do the work he wanted done. He may well have felt that a monastery should be peopled by men who would live monastically, using a common dormitory and refectory, and as he could not find men of his own people who were learned, or would consent to live unmarried, he imported teachers from abroad who, though apparently secular clergy, professed themselves willing to live a common life, and he brought over scholars also that they might in time succeed their teachers. We must then be careful not to make too much of Alfred's wish that his monks should live monastically, or think of him as a kind of forerunner of the men who in later years turned the secular clergy out of their minsters to make room for Benedictine monks.

Before long there was trouble at Athelney. Two of the Frankish brethren conspired against Abbot John, and incited some servants of the house, their fellow-countrymen, to kill him. Is it presuming too much to Trouble at Athelney. suppose that the conspirators, a priest and a deacon, were enraged at some attempt of the abbot to enforce on them monastic duties which they, as seculars, were not willing to fulfil? The assassins attacked him by night in the church

and wounded him severely. All concerned in the crime were put to death. According to a tradition of Malmesbury Abbey a similar and more fatal tragedy took place there. It is asserted that John the Scot taught at Malmesbury, and that his scholars killed him by stabbing him with their metal pens. Alfred's liberality to the Church was not confined to his foundations; he did much good work in restoring the minsters and churches in Wessex and Mercia that had been ruined by the Danes, and sent money to rebuild and enrich churches in lands beyond his own dominions. He was wont, it is said, to devote half his private income to pious purposes, dividing it among the poor, his two foundations at Athelney and Shaftesbury, his palace-school, the minsters of Wessex and Mercia, and minsters in Wales, Cornwall, Northumbria, Gaul, Brittany, and Ireland, to which he sent alms from time to time.

Alfred's translations.

While providing schools for his people, Alfred saw that if they were to be educated they must have books. Such books as were left in his kingdom were in Latin, and therefore of little use for purposes of general education, for few could read them. He wondered, he said, that none of the wise men among the English of earlier times had translated books into their own language, and he set himself to supply the need of his people by translating such books as he thought would be most useful to them. The books which he translated personally, with the help of others, or caused to be translated under his supervision, are the *Consolation of Philosophy* by Boethius, the Roman senator who was put to death by Theodoric the Ostrogoth, about 524; the *History of the World*, written by Orosius, a friend of St. Augustine of Hippo, in 416; the *Pastoral Book* of Gregory the Great; a large part of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*; and probably selections from the *Soliloquies* of St. Augustine. His choice illustrates the kind of education which he desired for his people; all the books which he translated are religious, or at least ecclesiastical. Boethius, it is true, though a professing Christian, and indeed a theologian, while awaiting in prison the visit of the executioner, turned for consolation to the philosophy which he had studied in his youth rather than to religion. For while the "golden volume," that sets forth the sublime sources of his consolation, might, though written in

the darkness of the sixth century, have been the work of the greatest of the Athenian philosophers, it breathes no hint of that confidence which is the right of the least in the kingdom of Heaven. Yet, as the author was put to death by an Arian king, the Catholic Church regarded him as a martyr, and his book, which became exceedingly popular during the Middle Ages, as an edifying work. The *History* of Orosius, which is written on Christian lines, was also highly esteemed in the Church.

Alfred probably began his work as a translator soon after he had attracted Plegmund to his court. His method of working is partially explained in the letter which serves as a preface to the *Pastoral Book*, or *Hirdeboc*. He sent a copy of this book to each bishop in his kingdom, that it might be placed in his minster, together with an æstel, probably a marker for it, worth fifty mancuses, ordering that "no one should remove the æstel from the book, or the book from the minster," unless the bishop wanted the book, or it was lent to be copied. In his letter to the bishops he says, "I began, among the various and manifold troubles of this kingdom, to translate into English the book called *Pastoralis*, or in English *Hirdeboc*, sometimes word for word, and sometimes according to the sense, as I had learnt it from Plegmund my archbishop, and Asser my bishop, and Grimbald my mass-priest, and John my mass-priest, and when I had learnt it as I best could understand it, and as I could most clearly interpret it, I translated it into English." He seems to have had the Latin construed for him, and then either to have accepted the version given him, or to have put it into his own words. His method of working.

Both in his Boethius and Orosius he deals freely with his text, omitting and expanding as he thought best for his readers, and sometimes inserting passages of his own, now speaking of his conception of the duties of a king, or of his own feelings, now explaining some reference which might not be understood by his people, and now giving them some piece of information more or less connected with his text. In his translation, the *Consolation of Philosophy* becomes a Christian book, and the philosopher's city of truth the heavenly Jerusalem. Whether Alfred actually wrote, or indeed could have written, The character of his work.

the words of his translations, is a small matter. In his Boethius, Orosius, and *Pastoral Book*, they may safely be taken to be his own words, though sometimes, no doubt, suggested by his helpers. Much English poetry existed before his time, but he is rightly held to be the Father of English prose. His version of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* seems to have been the work of one of his Mercian priests; it was written under his direction, and he chose for translation the parts that would specially interest the people of his own southern kingdom. At his bidding, too, Bishop Werferth translated part of the Lives of the Saints contained in the *Dialogues* of Pope Gregory. Alfred, then, provided his people with a library of religious and useful books. His work as an educator had a strong bearing on the Church; it was not to seek to enslave an ignorant people, but to appeal to men whose intelligence had been awakened.

The *Saxon Chronicle.*

One book we owe to Alfred which, though not ecclesiastical in character, is so necessary to an historian of the English Church that it cannot be passed by here. There is no doubt that he began the English, or, as it is also called, the Saxon, or Anglo-Saxon *Chronicle*. A basis for the earlier part of the *Chronicle* was found, probably, in short local chronicles, written in English, in Bede's work, and in national traditions. From the death of Æthelwulf the entries become fuller and more instinct with life. Alfred, we cannot doubt, had a large share in the composition of the *Chronicle*. Year by year, during his reign and the reign of his son Eadward, it seems to have been written regularly under royal direction, and no doubt by some of the king's clerical officials, and was copied with variations in different monasteries. When the official chronicling became irregular, or perhaps stopped altogether, it seems possible that some one monastery took the lead in the work, and sent round notes of events which were used as a basis for their work by the chroniclers of other houses. From the end of Bede's History to the year 1154, when, so far as is known, the last of the writers of the *Chronicle* ended his work at Peterborough, it is the highest narrative authority for English history, and forms a record the like of which cannot be found in the early vernacular literature of any other people.

Immeasurably superior to his father as Alfred was, he probably inherited from him, and from his grandfather Ecgbert, an absence of insular feeling and an admiration for the culture of other lands which must have been fostered by his youthful visits to Rome. His feelings on these matters had an important bearing on the history of the English Church. He strengthened the ties between his people and the Roman see. Mindful of the vow which he made in his trouble, he sent alms to the Christians of India in 883. The messenger whom he sent thither also bore his alms to Rome, and from that time ambassadors carried to Rome offerings from him and from his people with such regularity, that the national *Chronicle* notes under one year, as a remarkable fact, that that year there was no embassy to Rome, save that the king sent two messengers thither with letters. Alfred's personal contributions were made in accordance with the will of his father; the contributions of his people, which were sent with them, tended to establish the tax called Romfeoh, or Peter's pence, which was enforced by law in the days of his successor. In return for the alms of 883, Pope Marinus at Alfred's request freed from toll the Saxon school, the house of English pilgrims, and further sent him many gifts, and among them a piece of the wood of the cross. Pilgrimages to Rome seem to have been frequent during the stress of the Danish invasions. Many probably went thither who ought to have stayed at home to fight the national foe, for John VIII. in his letter to Burhred of Mercia says that his decree concerning the dress of the clergy had been approved by the English nobles at Rome. Burhred himself ended his days there, and some years later his widow Æthelswith, Alfred's sister, set out thither, and did not return, for she died and was buried at Pavia.

Relations with Rome.

As relations with Rome were so frequent, there is no reason to doubt the assertion of a late writer that Plegmund went thither to fetch his pall. He was probably there before the end of 891, and seems to have brought back a letter from Formosus, who attained the Papacy in the September of that year, to the English bishops on the state of the Church. Formosus declared that he had had a mind to excommunicate them for their

A papal reproof.

neglect in not checking the practice of heathen rites among the people, and was glad to hear from Plegmund that they had at last become active in the matter; he also referred to the scarcity of bishops in England, and ordered that on the death of a bishop a canonical election should at once be made to the vacant see.[1] Among the pilgrims from England in that year were three Scots whose arrival at Alfred's court excited so much interest that it is minutely recorded in the *Chronicle*. Desiring to make a pilgrimage "they recked not where," they came over from Ireland in a boat or coracle, covered with hides, and without oars, landed in Cornwall, and went to Alfred, who received them with gladness, and sent them on their way to Rome, whence they went on to Jerusalem. One returned, and was probably the bearer of the letters and gifts which Abel, the patriarch of Jerusalem, is said to have sent to Alfred, no doubt in return for alms from the king. Although Alfred's affection for the Roman see permanently and materially affected the relations between England and the Papacy, it did not lead him to assume any position of subserviency. His work for his people was done independently, and, save for the letters already mentioned, the English Church pursued its way without external interference. No serious effort, indeed, could have been made to direct it by the Popes of that period, for ecclesiastical virtues had become extinct at Rome, and the spiritual power of the Roman see was an empty pretence.

Relations with Gaul.

The letters of Fulk, Archbishop of Reims, some of which have been noticed here, prove that churchmen in Gaul were deeply interested in the affairs of the English Church at this period. Before long a closer tie was to be formed between churchmen on the two sides of the Channel. The marriage of Alfred's third daughter Ælfthryth, or Elstrud, as she was called in her new home, to Baldwin the Bald, Count of Flanders, was

[1] This letter, given by William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontiff.* i. c. 38, is not quite free from suspicion, for it appears among the proofs of the dignity of the See of Canterbury sent to Alexander II. in 1070, and contains matters omitted here, which look as if it had been concocted for the occasion. Nevertheless the bulk of the letter is probably genuine (see *Regesta Pontificum*, ed. Wattenbach, No. 3506; Bishop Stubbs's Preface to William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum*, ii., Rolls series, and next chapter).

destined to establish relations between her native land and the monasteries of Flanders which were of the highest consequence to the English Church. Monastic life had decayed in Flanders, and indeed throughout Gaul generally, as it had decayed in England. The Rule of St. Benedict was disregarded; princes and nobles made themselves lords of monasteries, and seized their lands and tithes. Other monasteries were given by the Frankish monarchs to some powerful prelate, and though saved for a time from the lordship of laymen, were not in much better case. The pious Elstrud took special interest in the monastery of Blandinium, or St. Peter's at Ghent, and endowed it with lands in Kent which long remained its property. There she buried her husband, a powerful and remarkably unscrupulous prince, who died in 918, and there she herself was buried in 929. Her zeal for the service of God was inherited by her son Arnulf the Great, who restored the monasteries in his dominions, and revived the observance of the Benedictine Rule. In the revival of English monasticism the monasteries of Flanders, restored to activity and usefulness by the work of Arnulf, played no inconsiderable part.

The death of Alfred is generally dated October 26, 901; the day is certain, but the year of his death was probably 900.[1] His body was laid in the Old Minster at Winchester until the church which he had planned, the New Minster, was ready to receive it. By his will, made many years before his death, he left legacies to Archbishop Æthelred; Esne, Bishop of Hereford; Werferth, Bishop of Worcester; and the Bishop of Sherborne, who must have been Wulfsige, though in the later Latin version of his will the name of Asser has been inserted arbitrarily and incorrectly. He also directed that £200 should be distributed equally between the mass-priests of his kingdom, the poor among God's servants, the lay poor, and the minster where he should be buried.

Alfred's death, Oct. 26, 900.

What were the effects of his work on the religious, moral, and intellectual condition of his people? Something was

[1] The year 901 is given in the Winchester version of the *Chronicle*, but the dates there from 893 to 929 are a year in advance. Mr. Stevenson, in *Engl. Hist. Review*, xiii. 71 (Jan. 1898), argues ably in favour of 899, but his authorities seem hardly sufficient to establish that year as against 900.

certainly done through his liberality towards the restoration of the churches which had been burnt and sacked by the Danes. He chose good bishops, who, as we learn from the letter of Formosus, strove to put down the evil practices which had arisen, partly from the barbarism consequent on the wars and distresses of the time, and partly from contact with the heathen invaders. He set his people a bright example of a strenuous and noble Christian life, and did his utmost to raise them to the same lofty standard that he ever kept before himself. Wide in sympathy and cultivated in taste, he preserved the Church from the dangers of insularity, and prepared a way by which it was in after-years to receive much help from abroad. The conversion of the Danish settlers may largely be traced to his influence, for he used his power and his success in war as a Christian king, for the furtherance of Christianity. While he may well have desired that men and women in monasteries should live in a religious fashion, he did not probably attempt to introduce true monasticism, and for more than sixty years after his death the monasteries remained in the hands of secular clerks.

Effects of his work.

That we should find Alfred's labours bringing forth fruit in an immediate reformation of society is not to be expected; such changes are generally of slow growth. Still, it is impossible to study the reigns of his successors without seeing that he did accomplish much even in that way. It is true that morals generally remained for some time longer in an unsatisfactory state. Yet in this respect things seem to have been better in Southern England than in the Danish districts. The difference was due to Alfred, principally of course to his success in war, which kept the South and West comparatively free from Danish influence, but also, it may be believed, to his teaching. To his care for education the Church and nation owed the succession of wise and noble rulers who came after him. Nor can it be doubted that the great churchmen who, later in the century, devoted themselves to the spiritual, moral, and intellectual reformation of the clergy, monks, and laity, were in a measure the fruits of his work. It was due to him that they were not born in a barbarous land, and that they received some early

More remote effects.

training. For full seventy years after his death the translations which he made, and caused to be made, must have been well-nigh the only English books of religion or learning. While his place in the history of English literature must not detain us here, it may again be pointed out that his love of learning was of immense value to the Church. Degradation is never far off from a Church in which the clergy and people are uneducated. The decay of learning in the North was, as we saw in our last chapter, quickly followed by the appearance of certain abject superstitions. The viking invasions almost entirely extinguished learning in England, and the character of the English Church would have rapidly deteriorated had Alfred been such a one as his father. His work in promoting learning and education saved the Church from an imminent danger.

No king has left behind him so lofty and stainless a record. The active principle of his life was his love of God; it appears constantly in his words, and not less constantly in his actions. He was diligent in religious observances; he is said to have heard mass every day, to have worshipped at the canonical hours, always carrying about with him a little book of psalms and prayers, and to have been wont to enter the church by night to pray there in secret. In all his doings he was manful. As a warrior, a ruler, and a teacher of his people, he was undaunted by difficulty and ungrudging of personal exertion. His industry was amazing; no task seemed grievous to him, for his aim in life was to "live worthily." To this end he devoted himself to seek by every means in his power to do good to the people over whom he was called to rule. He was well fitted for the task, for, though he was greater and wiser than they, he was one with them in heart. He had suffered and triumphed with them; he loved their songs and traditions, and he spoke to them in his books in their own language, and as one who thoroughly understood their minds. Conscious of this sympathy between himself and his people, he sometimes stops in his translations to tell them something of his own feelings. He speaks of his troubles; "hardship and sorrow"; he says "every king would wish to be free of these if he could, but I know that that is im-

Alfred's character.

possible," and elsewhere he tells them how he wishes to rule well, and hopes to be remembered for good.

His memory.

His hope has been fulfilled. The legends, foolish as some of them are, which have gathered round his name, attributing to him the foundation of schools at Oxford, the institution of trial by jury, and other things to which he has no claim, show how deep an impress was left on the popular mind by his actual work as a teacher and a ruler. Nor have the thousand years which have passed since his death, or the more critical mood in which history is now studied, dimmed the lustre of his fame. From generation to generation, the children of the people whom he loved and served so well are taught to admire the famous warrior and the blameless king, whose figure seems most real to them of all the English monarchs of ancient days. Still the name of "England's darling," specially appropriated to him centuries ago, dwells on English lips, and still his noble memory is dear to English hearts.

AUTHORITIES.—As before Asser, the *Saxon Chron.*, Florence of Worcester, William of Malmesbury. Much has been taken from Alfred's books, and specially from the prefatory letter appended to the *Pastoral Book*. The editions of his works used are his *Boethius*, ed. Fox, Bohn's Library, see the new critical edition, *King Alfred's Old English version of Boethius*, by W. J. Sedgefield, Oxford, 1899; Gregory, *Pastoral Book*, ed. Sweet, 1871-2, Early Engl. Text Soc.; *Orosius*, ed. Thorpe, Bohn's Lib. The Bede, which was not his own work, is in Smith's *Bede*, Cambridge, 1722; the Selections from the *Soliloquies* of St. Augustine is in MS. Cotton. Vitell. A. 15, and is not yet printed. For the correspondence of Fulk, Abp. of Reims, see Flodoard's *Hist. Eccl. Remens.* iv. cc. 1, 5, 6, ap. *Mon. Germ. SS.* xiii. ed. Pertz. For Papal letters see *Regesta Pontiff.* Jaffé and Wattenbach, Leipzic, 1888, with references. Notices of Grimbald are in Folcwin's *Gesta Abbatum S. Bertini*, ap. *Mon. Germ. SS.* xiii. ed. Pertz, and have been given by Bp. Stubbs (chiefly from the *Chron. Bertin.* of John Iperius, ed. Martène and Durand, ap. *Anecdotum Thesaurus*, iii., Paris, 1717) in his edition of Will. of Malm.'s *Gesta Regum*, ii. Preface, Rolls series, which see also for other matters of this time. Alfred's will is in Kemble's *Codex Dipl.* ii. 112, and the Latin version, *ib.* v. 127.

CHAPTER XV

RECOVERY

In ecclesiastical as well as in civil matters Eadward and Æthelstan, the son and grandson of Alfred, built upon the foundation which he had laid. Ecclesiastically, their reigns are marked by organisation and religious progress. The West Saxon episcopate was largely increased, and episcopal administration was revived in districts conquered by the Danes and won back by the English kings. The national assembly legislated on the affairs of the Church, pious and worthy bishops were appointed, and close relations were formed with the continent, some of which were destined, as we shall see, to exercise a strong influence on the history of the Church. On the other hand, while the efforts that Alfred made for the education of his people were by no means fruitless, they were not apparently pursued by his immediate successors. And though there was legislation for the Church, the Church no longer legislated for itself in its own assemblies. Conciliar action ceased with the Danish invasions, or, if it may be said to have continued, was carried on in such close combination with the national assembly as no longer to be separable from the action of the witan. Monasteries received grants, and some new houses were founded, but they were monasteries merely in name, though the houses of women generally approached more nearly to the monastic life than those of men.

General sketch 901-40.

Alfred's eldest son Eadward was crowned by Archbishop Plegmund on Whitsunday 901. While he was not so learned as Alfred, he was by no means unworthy to be his son, for

he was religious, able, and energetic. He brought the whole country south of the Humber under his immediate rule, while the Northumbrians, English, Danes, and Northmen alike, the Scots (the names Scots and Scotland are in the tenth century used in their modern sense), and the Welsh of Strathclyde acknowledged his superiority. The reconquest of the Mercian Danelaw he mainly owed to his sister Æthelflæd and her husband Æthelred, the Ealdorman of the Mercians. Their wars do not concern us, but, as the consolidation of the kingdom affected the history of the National Church, it should be noted that on the death of Æthelflæd the last vestiges of Mercian independence were swept away, for Eadward deprived her only child, a daughter, of all power, and brought Mercia under his immediate government. At the outset of his reign, his right was disputed by his cousin Æthelwald, a son of King Æthelred, who seized Twineham, or Christchurch, and Wimborne. Æthelwald carried off a nun from Cuthburh's monastery at Wimborne, and married her without the leave of the king and the bishop. On the approach of Eadward's army, he fled to the Danes in Northumbria, leaving behind him the unfortunate lady, who was sent back to her monastery. He was made king by the Danes, and three years later invaded Eadward's kingdom in conjunction with Eohric, who had succeeded Guthorm in East Anglia. He and Eohric were both slain in battle. Guthorm II. succeeded Eohric, and seems to have reigned in dependence on Eadward, who, after a time, incorporated East Anglia with his immediate kingdom.

Eadward king, 901-24.

In conjunction with Guthorm II., Eadward promulgated a series of ecclesiastical laws to be observed by the subjects of both kings, whether English or Danes. All heathen practices, witchcrafts, and divination were strictly forbidden. The payment of tithes, enjoined, it will be remembered, by civil authority in 787, was enforced by a penalty: "If any one withhold tithes let him pay lah-slite among the Danes, wite among the English," and a like penalty was decreed for the non-payment of church-dues, such as "light-scot" and "plough-alms," and of Peter's pence. From this time, laws concerning the payment of tithes are common, though no direction as to the church to which they

Ecclesiastical laws.

were to be rendered appears until about fifty years later. Sunday marketings, working on a Sunday or festival, and disregard of a lawful fast, were to be punished by fines. On these holy days no ordeal or compurgation was allowed, and until the Sunday had passed the condemned criminal was to be respited.

Eadward lost no time in carrying out his father's design for the building of the New Minster at Winchester, which seems scarcely to have been begun at Alfred's death. The church was dedicated by Plegmund, perhaps in 903, and the body of Alfred was removed into it. Some buildings were probably erected before Alfred's death, and the monastery, which was from the first peopled by secular clerks, was placed under the rule of Abbot Grimbald. The abbot died in the year of the dedication of his church. A lofty tower was added to the New Minster, and was dedicated five years later. Eadward was liberal in his gifts to churches; he evidently took a lively interest in ecclesiastical affairs, acted in full accord with Plegmund, and promoted good men to bishoprics.

The New Minster.

Nor were Eadward's sister, Æthelflæd, and her husband, Æthelred, less careful for the Church in Mercia; they were godly people, and were on excellent terms with Werferth, the learned and holy bishop of Worcester, to whose church they were benefactors. At Gloucester, which may have been the seat of the ealdorman's government, they founded a new minster and richly endowed it. Thither they brought the body of Oswald of Northumbria from Bardney, where it had been buried by his niece Osthryth, the wife of Æthelred of Mercia. Bardney had been wrecked by the Danes, and was lying in ruins, and the Mercian ealdorman, descended, it may be, from the royal house of Northumbria as well as of Mercia, was anxious to do honour to the saintly king whose memory was reverenced in both lands. Æthelred was buried in St. Oswald's church in 912, and in 918 his heroic wife Æthelflæd was laid beside him. Their church was served by secular clergy. While monasteries of men were in the hands of secular clergy, who were often married and lived with their wives, those of women were held by virgins and widows who at least kept their vow of chastity. Religious life of a lax

kind seems to have revived among women after the Danish wars, and was encouraged by the example of many ladies of the royal house. It differed widely from Benedictine monasticism, for there were nuns who lived separately in their own houses, and were not content to wear the monastic dress.

The most remarkable ecclesiastical event of Eadward's reign is the extension of the West Saxon episcopate on the lines of the shires of which Wessex was composed. In Wessex, which had escaped Danish colonisation, the shire-system had been grafted on to the old tribal divisions before Eadward's time. In this respect Wessex differed from the Mercian Danelaw, which was mapped out into shires by Alfred's successors at a much later date. Dorset, Somerset, and Wiltshire each represent the settlement of a single tribe, Hampshire probably the settlement of more than one tribe; the origin of Berkshire is more obscure. Devonshire was a province conquered from the Britons in later times, and colonised gradually. Each of these districts had its own history and administrative machinery, and probably local, or rather tribal, feeling was strong in them. Eadward and Plegmund, then, did wisely in making these divisions the basis of their enlarged system of ecclesiastical government in Wessex. Some foreshadowings of this change have already been observed, such as the description of Æthelred before his elevation to Canterbury as Bishop of Wiltshire, without a see or cathedral establishment. If, however, Ecgbert or his son had any plan for the creation of shire-bishoprics in Wessex, the Danish invasions caused its postponement. Under Eadward the time had arrived for carrying it out.

The extension of the West Saxon episcopate, 909.

The creation of the new dioceses is the subject of a story told in its latest form by William of Malmesbury. He says that, in 904, Pope Formosus wrote to Eadward declaring that he would excommunicate him and his people because, for full seven years, the West Saxons had been left without a bishop. Whereupon Eadward held a synod presided over by Plegmund, in which the king and the bishops chose bishops for the West Saxon shires, making five bishops where before there were only two; and Plegmund, he adds, on one day consecrated these five

William of Malmesbury's story.

at Canterbury together with two more for the South Saxons and "Mercia." Now this story cannot be accepted as it stands, for Formosus died in 896, and the West Saxon sees, Winchester and Sherborne, had not been vacant for seven years in 904. It does not, however, rest merely on William's authority, for he found it in the Missal of Bishop Leofric, who died in 1072, and there the date of the pope's interference is given as 905. And it appears still earlier in a letter of Dunstan, written perhaps before the end of the tenth century, which gives a similar account of the division of the West Saxon bishoprics. Not more, then, than a hundred years after the event Dunstan connected it with the name of Formosus.

An explanation of the difficulty has been found by the help of what we know independently of the story. In 909 both the West Saxon sees, Winchester and Sherborne, were vacant. In that year charters tell us that Eadward divided the bishopric of Winchester, and from that year begins the succession to the three new dioceses. Plegmund, we know, visited Rome in 908. His visit must doubtless be connected with the division of the bishoprics. Had it any connection with Formosus? Most probably it had. The right of Formosus to the papacy was disputed during his lifetime, and in 897, the year after his death, a scandalous trial of his corpse was held by Stephen VI. The dead pope was condemned, his corpse was thrown into the Tiber, and all whom he had ordained were declared deposed, and were reordained. His memory was vindicated by John IX., but was again condemned, in 904, by Sergius III., who renewed the declaration of the invalidity of his ordinations. Now it was from Formosus that Plegmund, according to Canterbury tradition, received his pall, and therefore the decrees invalidating the pope's acts rendered his position uncertain; indeed, on the restoration of Arngrim, Bishop of Langres, to his see, in 900, Benedict IV. thought it necessary to confirm to him the grant of a pall which he had received from Formosus. By 905, then, the date attributed in Leofric's Missal to the papal letter, the position of Plegmund and of the bishops consecrated by him must have caused them deep anxiety. When Plegmund went to Rome in 908, carrying with him the alms of Eadward and his people, he doubtless

An explanation of the story.

sought a confirmation of his own authority and of the orders which he had conferred. So acceptable a visit would not fail of its object.

The consecration of seven bishops.

The extension of the West Saxon episcopate had already been planned by the king and the archbishop, with the consent of the witan, and all that remained to be done was to obtain the pope's approval. Having received the consent of Sergius to the scheme, Plegmund returned home, and in 909, possibly on one day, consecrated five bishops for the West Saxon sees, and two for Dorchester and Selsey. The belief as to the letter of Formosus would arise from the interest which he is said to have taken in the affairs of the English Church, and, it may be, from the letter, if genuine, in which, as we have already seen, he reproves the bishops for neglect of their duties, speaks of excommunication, and urges that vacant sees should be filled up.

The West Saxon bishoprics and bishops.

The five West Saxon bishoprics which received bishops in 909 were the two already existing, Winchester and Sherborne, and three that were newly formed, one for the Wilsætas, the people of Wiltshire, one for the Sumorsætas, the people of Somerset, and a third for the people of the province of Dyfnaint. The see of Winchester was vacant by the death of Denewulf, the subject of one of the many legends which soon gathered round the name of Alfred. It is said that while Alfred was in Somerset, he met Denewulf driving a herd of swine to the forest to feed on acorns, and falling into conversation with him, was struck by his natural ability; he caused him to be educated, and afterwards made him bishop. And so it was that there was a bishop who had not learnt to read until after he had grown to manhood. As Denewulf seems to have been consecrated in 879, the story can scarcely be accepted, but it probably has an element of truth in it, and Denewulf, like the king himself, may have had his education comparatively late in life. He seems to have died in 908.

To Winchester, Plegmund consecrated Frithestan, a man of remarkable piety; he was in later years reputed a saint, and his holy deeds were written in many books for the edification of posterity. He resigned his bishopric in 931,

consecrated his successor, and died the following year. Since the formation of the bishopric of Sherborne in 705, the diocese of Winchester had included all to the east of Selwood as far as Sussex, where, from 709, the South Saxons had a bishop of their own at Selsey. On Frithestan's appointment, Eadward and Plegmund took Wiltshire and Berkshire from Winchester, and formed them into a new diocese. The bishops of this diocese are usually called Bishops of Ramsbury, a little town in Wiltshire, and sometimes Bishops of Sunning, or Sonning, a village near Reading, where they had an estate. It would be more exact to call them Bishops of Wiltshire, for they were shire-bishops without a fixed see or cathedral establishment. To this bishopric Plegmund consecrated Æthelstan.

Winchester and Wiltshire.

Asser of Sherborne is said to have died in the same year that Frithestan was appointed to Winchester. To his see Plegmund consecrated Wærstan, of whom virtually nothing is known. The ancient list of bishops appended to the Chronicle of Florence of Worcester inserts a bishop named Æthelweard between the names of Asser and Wærstan, and it may be that Æthelweard was co-bishop with Asser, as Asser had probably for a time been co-bishop with Wulfsige. Wærstan and his successors at Sherborne were bishops of the people of Dorset. The Sumorsætas now received a bishop of their own. To this new bishopric was consecrated Athelm, or, as his name would be at large, Æthelhelm. He is said, on highly questionable authority, to have been a monk of Glastonbury; he was doubtless a Somerset man, and of noble birth, for he was, we are told, the brother of Heorstan, the father of Dunstan. That he was a satisfactory bishop may be inferred from his promotion to the see of Canterbury on the death of Plegmund on August 2, 914. The bishops of the Sumorsætas had their see at Wells, which may already have been a place of some ecclesiastical importance. There is a story that in the time of Ine a mythical see of Congresbury was moved thither, and though this story is of no historical value, it suggests that there was an ancient minster at Wells, and that Wells may have been made the seat of the bishopric of Somerset for that reason. The third new West Saxon bishopric was made for Devonshire, and its see was placed at

Sherborne, Wells, and Crediton.

Crediton, where a monastery had been founded by King Æthelheard and Forthere, Bishop of Sherborne, in 739. Eadhæd, who was consecrated to the bishopric, became the head of the "family" of this minster. To him the king assigned the three Cornish estates said to have been given by Ecgbert to the see of Sherborne, in order that he and his successors might pay a yearly visit to the West Welsh or Cornishmen, to turn them from their errors, for to that day many resisted catholic authority. The customs of the British Church still had a strong hold in Cornwall.

By the care of Eadward and his Archbishop Plegmund, Wessex was thus provided with a sufficient and well-devised episcopal government. Along with the five West Saxon bishops, Plegmund is said to have consecrated Cenwulf to the Mercian see of Dorchester, and Beornege to the South Saxon see of Selsey. The story of the consecration of seven bishops together, in one day, is to be met with in many of our chronicles.

Eadward's children.

Eadward, who was thrice married, had fourteen children. The private life of the king and the tone of his court must have had a strong influence on society, for the kings of early times were constantly moving about from one royal estate to another, and they and their families came into personal contact with a large number of people in different parts of their dominions. The care with which Eadward's children were brought up can scarcely have failed to have a salutary effect in the households of many of his subjects. In this respect, as in others also, he was a worthy son of Alfred, and carried on the customs of his father's house. He is said to have caused his daughters to be taught book-learning when they were children, and when they grew older, made them work like modest maidens with the needle and distaff; his sons he had well educated in all things that would fit them for the duties of their station. His was a religious household, and one in which, it would appear from the lives of several of his children, the teaching and counsel of the clergy were held of much account. His eldest son Æthelstan, and Eadmund and Eadred, his sons by his third wife, all reigned in turn, and all were warm supporters of the Church. Another of his sons, Æthelweard, was, we are

told, like his grandfather Alfred both in person and tastes, and gave himself to learning; it is possible, however, that the twelfth-century historian, our authority for Æthelweard's learning, may have confused him with his uncle and namesake. Of Eadward's nine daughters three retired from the world. One of them, Eadflæd, was a nun at Wilton, where a monastery had been built apparently by more than one of her immediate ancestors; it became a house of renown, for several ladies of the royal line, and no doubt, consequently, many others of noble birth, became sisters there. Eadflæd was buried at Wilton in her nun's habit, and there, too, was buried her sister Æthelhild, who, like her, had renounced the world, though she did not become a nun, and perhaps lived as a recluse.

Their sister Eadburh, Eadward's daughter by his third wife, became a nun in the Nunna Minster at Winchester. She is reckoned among the saints, and is said to have given early proof of her fitness for the religious vocation. When she was but three years old, her father pondered whether he should devote her to God, or prepare her for a secular life, and one day laid out, on the one side, rich garments and jewels, and on the other, a chalice and book of the gospels. Then he sent for the child, who was brought to him in her nurse's arms, set her on his knee, and bade her choose which she would have. She frowned at the heap of earthly gauds, and eagerly clutched the chalice and the holy book. The king embraced her fondly, and bade her follow the Spouse whom she had chosen, declaring that he and her mother would rejoice to have a daughter holier than themselves. So Eadburh, or St. Edburga, became a nun at Winchester, and all her young companions followed her example. As she grew in years, she grew in holiness and humility, and, it is said, would rise at night and secretly wash the stockings of the other sisters, and lay them clean and fragrant on their beds. This, however, is a bit of late hagiography; the ladies of the Nunna Minster did not at that time live together in one house. Eadburh died and was buried at Winchester. About an hundred years after her death some of her relics were bought from the convent, and presented to the monastery of Pershore, which thence-

St. Edburga.

forward was called after her, and in the twelfth century both convents told of miracles wrought at her shrines, though her fame in that respect was greater at Pershore than at Winchester. Of the personal characters of the six daughters of Eadward who were married, the eldest to Sihtric, a Danish king of Northumbria, and the others to continental princes and lords, little is known, save in the case of one who, as we shall see, did credit to her religious training.

Death of Eadward.

Eadward died in Mercia, at Farndon, in the present Northamptonshire, in 924, and sixteen days later his son Æthelweard died at Oxford. It may, perhaps, be well to note that if Æthelweard was learned, that has nothing to do with his death at Oxford, which was not a place of learning till two centuries later. Both father and son were buried in the New Minster. More than a year before Eadward's death, Archbishop Athelm died on January 8, 923, and was succeeded by Wulfhelm, who, like his predecessor, was promoted to the archbishopric from the see of Wells. He went to Rome, evidently for his pall, in 925.

Æthelstan king, 924-940.

As in the case of Eadward the dominating personality of Æthelstan causes the ecclesiastical history of his reign to centre round him rather than round any of his prelates. He was crowned at Kingston by Archbishop Wulfhelm. A Latin poem, written perhaps before the end of the century, gives a curious picture of the combination of religion and rude festivity at the coronation, which, if not specially true of Æthelstan's coronation, represents what was customary. The feasting was enormous, the royal hall was a scene of noisy confusion, the stomachs of the guests were satiated with dainties and their souls with music, and all joined in singing, "To Thee the praise, to Thee the glory be, O Christ." The new king was thirty, in the flower of his manhood. In his childhood his beauty and grace had delighted his grandfather Alfred, who is said, young as the boy must have been, to have invested him with arms, putting on him a scarlet cloak and a belt studded with gems, and giving him a sword with a golden sheath, a ceremony which roughly answered to the arming of a knight. He had been well

brought up, for he had his training at the court of Æthelred, the Mercian ealdorman, and his aunt Æthelflæd took pains to fit him for his future career. Completing his father's work, he added Northumbria to his immediate kingdom, and enforced the submission of the principalities and kingdoms of the Welsh and Scots. The greatness of his fame is attested by his relations with the continent, which, so far as they have an ecclesiastical side, will be noted later. With all his splendour, he was humble, and affable to men of all conditions, and specially to the clergy. For the Church his reign was a time of prosperity and growth; he cared for its interests, promoted good men, lived on excellent terms with his bishops, some of whom he seems to have employed in secular matters, and was a liberal benefactor to minsters.

Æthelstan's policy of endeavouring to conciliate the Danes of Northumbria, and weld them into one nation with the English, has an ecclesiastical bearing. The foreign and hostile element in Northumbria was constantly recruited by fresh invasions of pagan vikings coming mainly from Ireland, where the Ostmen, as the Danes and Northmen of that land were called, had established themselves as masters in the South and East. During Eadward's reign a heathen Dane named Rögnvaldr or Reignwald, who had sailed from Ireland and invaded Scotland, marched into Northumbria and stormed York. To two of his jarls, or earls, he granted lands which were claimed as the territory of St. Cuthbert, that is as part of the lands of the Bernician bishopric, by Cutheard, the Bernician bishop, then dwelling with his clergy and monks—if, indeed, there were monks among them—at Chester-le-Street. One of these earls, a harsh and cruel man, is said to have been reproved for his evil deeds by the bishop, who threatened him with the vengeance of St. Cuthbert. The viking answered with a sneer at the belief in a dead man's power, and turned away in wrath; he fell on the threshold of the door, and there perished in agony. The story, like some other matters recorded by the Durham chronicler, was perhaps invented to strengthen the title of his church to its vast possessions.

Vikings in Northumbria.

Æthelstan hoped to prevent future invasions, and to establish his power in Northumbria, by conciliating the

Danes and Northmen, who were already settled there and had accepted Christianity. With this end in view he sought to gain the support of the Church in the North, and specially of the Archbishop of York, for the archbishops seem to have exercised a vast influence over the lately converted people, and held a powerful, and almost independent, political position. Though the death of Sihtric, the Northumbrian king, in the year after his marriage with Æthelstan's eldest sister, was a check to Æthelstan's plans, and he was finally forced to bring the North into subjection by war, his policy met with some success during a large part of his reign, for Rodeward, the Archbishop of York, and his suffragans attended his witenagemots. He made large grants to the great Yorkshire minsters, to York, Ripon, and Beverley, and to the church of St. Cuthbert, probably during his campaigns in the North, and his liberality, of course, bound the clergy to him. On the death of Rodeward, he secured the election of Wulfstan as archbishop in 931, and is said to have granted the whole district of Amounderness to the see. As long as Æthelstan lived, Wulfstan remained faithful to him; he attended meetings of the witan, and it was probably owing to his influence that, when things were quiet in the North, several Danish earls from his province also appeared at them. After Æthelstan's death, however, Wulfstan, as we shall see, caused his successors much trouble.

Rodeward and Wulfstan, Archbishops of York.

Some disturbances between the West Welsh and their English neighbours seem to have led to another increase of the West Saxon episcopate. In, or about, 926 Æthelstan drove the Welsh from Exeter, where, after more than two centuries of English occupation, they still had a settlement in the northern part of the town, marked by the dedication of churches to Welsh saints. He completed the subjugation of the Cornishmen, made their land from the Tamar westward into a new diocese, and appointed as their new bishop Conan, whose name bespeaks his Celtic origin. It seems almost certain that Conan placed his see at St. Germans, where it was at the time of the consecration of his successor Daniel. Later it was certainly at St. Petrock's, or Padstow, and in the eleventh century, perhaps,

Foundation of the Cornish bishopric, 930.

again at St. Germans. As in the case of the bishopric of the Wilsætas (Ramsbury), the episcopal seat of the bishopric of the Cornish people seems to have been movable. The three Cornish estates which had been granted the Church of Sherborne by Ecgbert, and had been transferred to the bishops of Crediton, were granted to Bishop Daniel by a decree of the witan. The title of Bishop of Berkshire given to a bishop named Cynsige, whose name occurs 931-934, at first sight suggests a design for a further increase of the episcopate by a division of the Wiltshire diocese. The documents, however, in which this description occurs are by no means above suspicion, and even allowing that Cynsige was bishop in Berkshire, he had no successor, and may, perhaps, have been consecrated as a suffragan to the Wiltshire bishop.

We know little more of Archbishop Wulfhelm than we do of his predecessor Athelm. Perhaps neither of them was a man of very marked character, though Wulfhelm is described by a late writer as a good man, and an active and dignified prelate. The cessation of synodical action after the period of the Danish invasions deprives us of one means of information as to an archbishop's work, for ecclesiastical legislation proceeded at that time from the king acting by the advice of his witan, lay and clerical. Some laws which Æthelstan and his witan published at Greatanlea, or Grately, near Andover, are prefaced by directions to the king's reeves, expressly said to have been made with the counsel of Wulfhelm, the bishops, and the servants of God. The king gives orders to his reeves respecting the payment of tithes and church-dues, the relief of the poor, and the manumission of bondmen for the Lord's sake. In the laws which follow, along with those that concern purely secular matters, are decrees against "church-breach," and witchcraft, and for the regulation of ordeals.

Ecclesiastical laws.

Of some of Wulfhelm's suffragans we know more than we do of the archbishop. The eminent virtues of Theodred, Bishop of London, in 926 and later, caused him to receive the surname of "the Good." One error is said to have marred his life. Happening to be at St. Edmund's Abbey, while on his way to join the king in the North, he found some men in prison

Some bishops of the reign. Theodred of London.

who had attempted to rob the shrine of the royal saint, and had, it was believed, been caught through his miraculous interference. Theodred is said to have caused them to be hanged, and this uncanonical act weighed heavily on his conscience; he performed a life-long penance, and as an expiation erected a splendid shrine over the saint's body. A law ascribed to Æthelstan says that Theodred persuaded the king to decree, in a witenagemot held at a place called Witlanburh, that no one younger than fifteen years should be put to death [for theft], unless he made resistance or fled, "for it seemed to him too cruel that so young a man should be killed, and besides for so little as he has learned has somewhere been done." Was this noble remonstrance caused by the bishop's repentance, or is the story of his hasty act and subsequent penitence, which, by the way, does not rest on perfectly safe authority, a legend founded on the remembrance of his interference to mitigate the severity of the law? In either case, his memory deserves to live, and did live in the twelfth century in the affections of the Londoners, who, as they looked upon his tomb set on high in the crypt of St. Paul's, used to tell the story of their good bishop's error and life-long sorrow.

Two Bishops of Winchester.

Another bishop famed for holiness was Beornstan, whom Frithestan on his retirement had consecrated to succeed him at Winchester in 931. He was a man of much prayer, specially on behalf of the departed. Every day he sang a mass for their souls, and at night would pace the cemetery singing psalms for them. One night, as he ended these psalms, and added the prayer "Requiescant in pace," he suddenly seemed to hear the response "Amen" as the voice of a mighty multitude beneath the earth. Daily he washed the feet of the poor, set food before them, and served them. On All Saints' Day, 934, after he had dismissed his poor guests, he retired to pray in secret. Hours passed by, and as his attendants knew that he often remained a long time in prayer, they wondered not at his stillness. At last they entered the room, and found that his spirit had departed. He was reckoned as a saint, and his cult was preached by one of his successors, Bishop Æthelwold, to whom he was believed to have

appeared, along with St. Swithun and St. Birinus, and to have announced his own beatification. He was succeeded by Ælfheah, or Elphege, called the Bald, who was also famed for his holiness, and was held to have the gift of prophecy. He appears to have upheld discipline and to have been exalted in spirit and dignified in speech. He exercised a strong influence on the lives of two at least of the great churchmen who revived monasticism in England, and may therefore be regarded as the originator of the monastic movement, of which we shall hear much in later chapters.

Oda, Bishop of Wiltshire.

Of greater fame than these in the history of the Church is another of Æthelstan's bishops named Oda, or, in Latin, Odo, who is said to have been the son of a Dane in the army of Ivar. In early life Oda suffered persecution at home on account of his persistence in going to church, and was adopted by an English noble named Æthelhelm, who had him baptized and taught Latin. He is said to have served as a soldier, but was young when he received the tonsure. After he was ordained priest, he went to Rome with Æthelhelm, who was perhaps sent thither by the king with his alms, or Peter's pence. While on the way, Æthelhelm fell sick, and his recovery was attributed to a draught of wine over which Oda had made the sign of the cross, and was therefore, at least in after-days when Oda had become archbishop, reckoned as a miracle. On his return Æthelhelm introduced his adopted son to Æthelstan, who, about 926, made him Bishop of Wiltshire. No better or wiser man could have been chosen for the office.

A strange story.

Besides his benefactions to the churches of the North, Æthelstan made grants of land and other offerings to several West Saxon and Mercian minsters. To Malmesbury he was particularly liberal, for he had a special reverence for St. Ealdhelm. We must not, therefore, take too literally the grateful exaggeration of the Malmesbury historian, that there was scarcely an old minster in England which he did not enrich with buildings, ornaments, books, or estates. Two of his charters, one to Malmesbury and the other to Bath, have appended to them a strange story, told as though in the words of the king himself. Both charters are, however, of less than doubtful value. Æthelstan is represented in

them as saying that an caldorman named Ælfred, or Alfred, had conspired against him and had sought to blind him at Winchester, that the rebel was caught, and sent to Rome to be judged by Pope John [XI.?]. He swore falsely before the altar of St. Peter that he was innocent, fell down straightway, and was carried to the "English school," where he died on the third day. The pope sent to Æthelstan to ask whether he should have Christian burial. At the request of the witan, the king agreed to this, and all the rebel's possessions having been adjudged to him, Æthelstan gave from them the lands in question to the two abbeys. Whether there is any truth at all in this story it is impossible to say.

Æthelstan founded two monasteries—Middleton, or Milton Abbas, in Dorset, and Michelney, or Muchelney, in Somerset —which were, of course, served by secular clerks. Michelney was a refoundation, for a monastery had originally been founded there by King Ine. Æthelstan is said to have founded these monasteries for the good of the soul of his brother Eadwine. The Chronicle notes, under 933, that "the ætheling Eadwine was drowned at sea." Later writers say that he was accused of conspiring against his brother and was put out to sea with his armour-bearer in a boat without oars, that in despair he leaped into the sea and was drowned, that his armour-bearer brought his body to Wissant, and that it was buried in St. Bertin's by his cousin Adulf, Count of Boulogne, brother of Arnulf of Flanders. Æthelstan, it is asserted, found out too late that his brother had been accused falsely; he retired for a while in penitence to "Lamport," evidently Langport near Michelney, and did penance of some kind for seven years. The story is in the main true, though Æthelstan must be acquitted of a design against his brother's life. Some commotion had arisen in Wessex, and Eadwine was concerned in it. He is called king by a writer at St. Bertin's about thirty years after his death. He may have been under-king of Kent, and have resisted the full consolidation of Kent with Wessex. He left England apparently as an exile, was drowned, and was buried at St. Bertin's, as the legend says.

The ætheling Eadwine.

Both Eadward, and in a greater degree Æthelstan, had many relations with foreign lands. Several of these relations

have an ecclesiastical interest, and some of them an important bearing on the history of the English Church. Early in Eadward's reign the Northmen, not for the first time, ravaged Ponthieu. In their distress the monks and clergy of the house of St. Judoc sought shelter in England. Their house had once been ruled by the English Alcuin; the English king was the son of Alfred, who had given so freely to churches beyond the sea, and men and women of English race had constantly worshipped and offered in their church on landing at the neighbouring port of Quentavic. They came to Eadward, bearing with them the relics of their Breton patron, and the king received them kindly, and lodged them and their precious burden in his New Minster.

Continental relations.

Not long after this many Bretons fled to England, for their land also was ravaged by these Northmen. Among these fugitives was a certain count, the son-in-law of Count Alan the Great, who brought over with him his young son, afterwards famous as Alan Twisted-Beard, Count of Nantes. Eadward stood godfather to the child, and caused him to be brought up at his court, where he was the companion of Æthelstan.[1] With the hospitality which Eadward extended to these Breton fugitives must be connected the help that he sent to the clergy of the great Breton church of St. Samson at Dol. In return for his liberality, the prior and clergy of St. Samson's enrolled him as a member of their confraternity. An admission to confraternity was the means by which convents, and colleges of clergy, requited their benefactors; they entered their names in their "Book of Life" among the names of those for whom they were bound to pray in life and after death. Fresh troubles fell on the Bretons in Æthelstan's reign, for the Northmen of the Seine, who were then settled in the land called after them Normandy, subdued Brittany about 933. The prior and clergy of St. Samson's were forced to flee into France, and in their exile found the English king a generous friend. Prior Radbod wrote to him assuring him of their

Breton refugees.

[1] The *Chron. Namnet.* ap. *Rec. des Hist.* viii. 276, seems to confuse Eadward and Æthelstan, for Æthelstan could scarcely have been Alan's godfather and his youthful companion.

gratitude. He styles him "the father of the clergy, the friend of the poor," and so on, and says that he was sending him the relics of certain Celtic saints which he knew would be the most acceptable present that the king could receive. These relics Æthelstan placed in his minster at Milton.

The marriage of Alfred's daughter, Ælfthryth, to Baldwin of Flanders brought one refugee to England who must have been shunned by all English churchmen. Fulk, the Archbishop of Reims, who, as we have seen, took a deep interest in the affairs of the English Church, was assassinated in 900 by one of Baldwin's lords named Winomar. For the count had a quarrel against Fulk, because the Frankish king had taken the abbey of St. Vedast from him, and had given it to the archbishop. Fulk's successor Heriveus, and the prelates assembled at his consecration, pronounced a tremendous anathema against the murderer, and Winomar thereupon sought shelter with Eadward, his lord's brother-in-law. He is said to have died miserably of some awful disease. In later days other Flemish refugees of a better sort came over to England. When Arnulf of Flanders restored monasticism at St. Bertin's in 944, a number of the brotherhood, who were expelled because they would not accept the count's reforms, sought a home in England, where they felt sure of a welcome, for Æthelstan had enriched their house for his brother Eadwine's sake. Eadmund, Æthelstan's brother and successor, received them graciously, and placed them in the monastery at Bath. The laxity of an English monastery must have been congenial to them. Before many years Flanders was to give shelter to one of the chief restorers of English monasticism, and Flemish monasteries were to sympathise with, and help forward, a reformation which introduced into England a monasticism as vigorous as their own.

Flemish refugees.

A series of events which helped to bring English churchmen under the influence of the monastic life as practised in the most famous monastery in France at that time, began by the marriage of one of Eadward's daughters, named Eadgifu, to Charles the Simple, the Carlovingian king who reigned at Laon. The policy of forming continental alliances by the marriages of the ladies of the

Marriages of royal ladies.

royal house to foreign princes, begun by Alfred, and carried on by Eadward, was much extended by Æthelstan. In Germany, ties were renewed which had of old bound the Church of St. Boniface's youth to the Church of his apostleship. In 928, Cynewald, Bishop of Worcester, visited the German monasteries, bringing with him a large sum of money sent to them by Æthelstan and several great people of his kingdom. In return the convents inscribed the names of their English friends and benefactors in their books, and remembered them in their prayers. Of this we have evidence in the case of the monastery of St. Gall, a house which had been founded by, and called after, one of the fellow-countrymen and companions of St. Columban. Cynewald arrived there on October 15, and stayed for four days. On the second day of his visit he entered the church, bearing a large bag of money; part he laid on the altar, and gave the remainder for the use of the convent. In return, the monks inscribed in the Book of their Confraternity the names of King Æthelstan, Archbishop Wulfhelm, seven bishops, two abbots, and several great persons, including two ladies.

Bishop Cynewald in Germany.

Cynewald's journey was probably connected with negotiations for the marriage of one of Æthelstan's sisters to Otto, the future emperor, the son of Henry the Fowler, the first German king of the Saxon line. Of the king's sisters the lady finally chosen to be Otto's wife was Eadgyth (Edith), who was married in 930. She carried out as a German queen the lessons of piety which she had learnt in her father's court. A contemporary Saxon historian says that she was not less ennobled by her holiness than by her royal birth, and that the day of the death of "queen Edidis of blessed memory," February 26, 946, was a day of mourning for all the Saxon nation. She did not live to become empress. She was buried in the minster of Magdeburg, which she had prompted her husband to build, and where many years later Otto the Great was laid beside the wife of his youth.

Queen Eadgyth.

Another of Æthelstan's sisters named Eadhild he married to Hugh the Great, Duke of the French, the father by a later marriage of Hugh Capet. The embassy which came

to demand her hand, headed by the king's cousin, Adulf of Boulogne, was received by Æthelstan at Abingdon. The monastery that Ine had founded, or helped to found there, had been ruined by the Danes, and the church (for a church seems to have still stood there) was served by seculars, and was probably in a state of decay. The ambassadors brought many precious and splendid gifts to the king, among them pieces of the Lord's cross and the crown of thorns, each enclosed in crystal, which he gave to Malmesbury, the banner of St. Maurice, the leader of the Theban legion, and other matters of a like kind. Æthelstan, in 936, carried on negotiations with Duke Hugh concerning the election to the French throne of his nephew Lewis, the son of Charles the Simple, who had taken refuge with his mother Eadgifu at his uncle's court. The king, who had been called into the North by trouble in that quarter, and was then at York with his nephew, sent Bishop Oda, at the head of an embassy composed of other bishops and great men, to the duke to arrange for his nephew's return. Oda impressed the French by his high character and eloquence; he succeeded in his mission, and Lewis, called from his exile in England by an equivalent of "d'Outremer," was crowned king at Laon. During this embassy Oda may have seen, and must at least have heard, much of the glories of the Abbey of Fleury, where Benedictinism of a strict sort had lately been introduced, and was zealously practised. If so, his visit to France would be of far deeper ecclesiastical interest than merely as an illustration of the employment of bishops in civil affairs, or as an incident in the career of a great churchman.

A French embassy.

The embassy of Bishop Oda.

Soon after Oda's return, he and Bishop Theodred of London went north to join the king, who, in 937, crushed the allied forces of Danes, Northmen, Scots, and Welsh at the battle of Brunanburh. They were not the only bishops with the king in his victorious campaign. One bishop, whose name is not known,[1] was slain with all his attendants in the night attack made upon Æthelstan's camp. In the confusion the king's sword dropped out of

The battle of Brunanburh.

[1] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontiff.* c. 50, says that he was Wærstan of Sherborne, but Ælfred was then, and afterwards, Bishop of Sherborne.

its scabbard. Being surrounded by the enemy, he called—so the Malmesbury historian says—on God and St. Ealdhelm, and the sword was miraculously restored to its scabbard, or, according to another version of the story, was handed to him by Bishop Oda. Æthelstan died on October 27, 940, and was buried at Malmesbury, in the church of his patron St. Ealdhelm, where by his orders two cousins of his who had fallen at Brunanburh had been buried three years before.

On the accession of Æthelstan's next brother Eadmund, the Northumbrians broke the peace, and chose Olaf, the son of the King of Dublin, as their king. Olaf died after having burnt the church of St. Balthere, an anchorite who lived in the middle of the eighth century, at Tyningham in East Lothian, and the Danish garrison in York, apparently enraged at the death of their king, wasted Lindisfarne. The Northumbrians chose another Olaf, the son of Sihtric, their former king, the husband of Eadward's eldest daughter. Olaf had refused to follow his father's example by receiving baptism, and remained a heathen. Nevertheless, Archbishop Wulfstan joined himself to him, and accompanied him on an invasion of the land of the Five Burghs, the eastern part of Mercia. Olaf and the archbishop were surprised and nearly taken prisoners at Leicester in 947. Peace was made through the intervention of the two archbishops, Wulfstan evidently treating on behalf of the Danes. Olaf was baptized, Eadmund standing godfather to him, and after a while Olaf's nephew, who was also king in Northumbria, followed his uncle's example, and became Eadmund's godson. In the next year Eadmund subdued Northumbria, and drove out the two Danish kings Olaf and Reignwald. The land, however, had no long period of rest, nor was Wulfstan long content to be the subject of a king of the West Saxon line.

Wulfstan Abp. of York.

AUTHORITIES.—The *Gesta Regum* and *Gesta Pont.* of William of Malmesbury, who, though a twelfth-century writer, is of special value, as he used materials not now known to exist (see Bp. Stubbs's Preface to the *Gesta Regum*, Rolls series, which contains discussions on many points in this period and specially on the West Saxon episcopate, freely used in this chapter). For the character of the West Saxon shires see Freeman, *English Towns and Districts*, London, 1883, and for the formation of the Mercian shires, a

paper by the Rev. C. S. Taylor in *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc. Proc.* for 1898, xxi. pt. i. The *Chronicle*, though full for Eadward's reign, has not much of ecclesiastical interest; for the reign of Æthelstan it is meagre and confused. Florence of Worcester's *Chronicle* adds many details, and Symeon of Durham's *Hist. Eccl. Dunelm* and *Historia Regum* are useful for the affairs of the northern province; the former, however, contains much that is of doubtful authority. For the notices of ecclesiastical legislation see Thorpe's *Ancient Laws and Institutes*, u.s.; for charters, Kemble's *Codex Dipl.* u.s., Birch's *Cartularium Sax.*, London, 1885, and the *Crawford Charters*, Anecdota Oxon. vii. ed. Napier and Stevenson, Oxford, 1895. The charters telling the story of Ælfred are in Will. of Malm. *Gesta Regum* and in *Charters of Bath Priory*, Somerset Record Soc. London, 1893. The story of Eadwine is also in the *Gesta Regum;* see Bp. Stubbs's Preface to *G. R.*, where reference is made to Jo. Iperius, *Annales Bertin*, ap. Martène and Durand, *Thesaurus*, iii. 547, Paris, 1717, and Meyer, *Ann. rerum Belgic. an.* 932, Frankfort, 1580. Freeman, *Historical Essays*, i., London, 1871, condemns the story as mythical; he could not then have been acquainted with Folcwin's *Gesta Abb. S. Bertini Sithien.* ap. Pertz, *Mon. Germ. Hist. SS.* xiii. 628, 629, written less than thirty years after the Ætheling's death, from which the account in this chapter has been taken. Some other statements are also derived from Folcwin, who records the coming to England of the dispossessed brethren of St. Bertin's, dating it 944, but saying that Æthelstan was then king: he is more likely to have been correct as to the date than as to the king's name. For Bp. Cynewald at St. Gall see *Confraternitates S. Galli*, pp. 136, 137, 238, 363, ed. Piper, ap. *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Berlin, 1884. Bp. Stubbs, in his Preface to his *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, Rolls series, points out the interest which the relations of England with the Continent during this period have for the student of Church history. For those noted here, as regards Brittany, see the *Gesta Pont.* pp. 399, 400; *Chron. Namnet.* ap. *Recueil des Hist.* viii. 276, and Will. of Jumièges, iii. 1, ap. Duchesne, *Script. Hist. Norman.*, Paris, 1609. For the character of Queen Eadgyth see Widukind's *Res Gestæ Saxon.* ii. 41, ap. Pertz, u.s. iii. For Oda's embassy, Flodoard's *Annales a.* 936, ap. Pertz, u.s. iii., and Richer's *Hist.* ii. 4, ap. Pertz, u.s. ii. Constant reference has been made to Bp. Stubbs's *Registrum Sac. Anglic.*

CHAPTER XVI

THE CHURCH AND THE NATION

At this point in our narrative, a pause may be made without inconvenience in order to consider the relations, so far as they can be ascertained, in which the English Church stood towards the State, and the part taken by its clergy in the life of the people.

In an attempt to examine the relations between the Church and the civil government, it must be remembered that in the tenth century the constitution of the State entered on a period of well-marked though silent change. Owing partly to the consolidation of the kingdom, and partly to the influence of the Danish wars, the position and power of the king became strengthened and magnified. Personally, he had a pre-eminence of a new kind. In old days he was the representative of his people, their leader in war, and their supreme judge; his people were bound to him by a personal tie; his dignity was greater than that of the greatest noble, but still it was a difference in degree. After the Danish wars his people are bound to him by an obligation of fealty, and to plot against his life is treason. So, too, as concerns his power, he becomes regarded as the source of justice and the guardian of the public peace; the public land becomes virtually the king's land, almost his demesne; a grant of it binds the receiver by a special obligation to do him service in war, and an approach is made to territorial and feudal sovereignty. While in theory the constitution and functions of the witenagemot remained the same, its importance and

Increase of royal power.

character are changed. Possibly it was never so popular an assembly as it has sometimes been represented; in the tenth century it assumes on ordinary occasions the character of a king's council. These changes, which seem to have begun with the reign of Alfred, were soon accompanied by an assumption of grandiloquent titles such as *imperator* and *basileus*, adopted from the imperial court. This increase of the royal dignity and authority had a bearing on ecclesiastical matters; for the personal action of the king becomes more apparent than in earlier times.

The Church and the kingship.

For this growth of the royal power the Church cannot be held responsible. It is true that, apart from any questions as to the influence of the hallowing of British kings, or of heathen coronations, the English kingship owed to the Church the religious rites of coronation and unction. These rites guarded a king's life by a special sanction. A canon of the council of 787, directed against the murder of kings, then a common event in Northumbria, declared that to plot against a king's life was specially wicked, because he was the Lord's anointed. The Church, too, certainly inculcated the apostolic command of obedience to the civil power. Yet it did not claim to invest the king by coronation and unction with such a character, or authority, as made resistance necessarily unlawful, for in administering those rites it demanded from him that he should govern righteously, protect God's Church and people, forbid iniquity, and rule with justice and mercy. This is plainly laid down in the Pontifical of Archbishop Ecgbert of York. A definite promise to this effect was, at least in later days, required of the king by the archbishop who performed the rites, and towards the close of the period of the native monarchy, not only was this promise made in a record which was laid upon the altar, but it was insisted upon by the archbishop in an address. On the strength of this promise, the Church pronounced the divine sanction of the royal election, the act of the nation, by ceremonies which signified the consecration of the elected king to the holy work of righteous government.

Far from unduly exalting the royal dignity, the Church declared the duty of kings towards their subjects, and in the council of 787 ordered that the bishops should teach them

God's Word without fear or flattery. As we have already seen, the wickedness of certain kings of the eighth century was freely condemned by churchmen. While the Church reprobated the murder of kings, the Northumbrian bishops do not seem to have disapproved of the frequent acts of deposition decreed by witenagemots in which they had a voice, and Archbishop Eanbald II. appears to have taken an active part against the tyrannical Eardulf. Bishop Ealhstan was deeply concerned in the revolt against Æthelwulf, and the later revolt against Eadwig (Edwy), though supported by a portion only of the clergy, was certainly not condemned as contrary to the teaching of the Church.

Reproof and resistance.

In episcopal elections no rule can be clearly discerned, and practice seems to have varied. Theoretically, a bishop was elected by the clergy of his Church, while the right of the people of the diocese to a voice in the election is also sometimes recognised. Practically, the bishop was often appointed by the king, with the "advice and consent" of the witan, and in later times this was almost invariably the case. The royal appointment, however, does not preclude clerical election; for in early times the king probably acted in concurrence with the wishes of the clergy of the bishop's church. As late as the ninth century, it would seem that on ordinary occasions the election by the clergy frequently determined the appointment. When Archbishop Eanbald I. was about to retire, Alcuin, it will be remembered, wrote to beg him to see that the clergy of his church had freedom of election, and exhorted them to avoid simony. So, too, Bede's plan that the new bishoprics which he desired should be held by men elected by, and if possible from, the convents of monasteries attached to their sees, seems to imply that ecclesiastical election was a reality. When a bishop consecrated his successor, as John of Beverley consecrated Ecgbert, as Ecgbert consecrated Æthelbert, and as he in his turn committed (*tradidit*) his see to Eanbald, the election by the clergy must have conferred the right to consecration. In the case of Æthelbert, it is said that his election was requested by the people of York. In Ecgbert's reign a Bishop of Lichfield stated in his profession of obedience that he had been elected by the whole Church of his diocese.

Episcopal elections by clergy;

On the other hand, elections to the see of Canterbury seem to have been subject to royal dictation. Oswiu of Northumbria and Ecgbert of Kent selected Wighard for consecration, "with the choice and assent of the English Church"—words which, whatever their import may be, seem to ignore the prerogative right of the metropolitan church. Again, Offa of Mercia, while master of Kent, evidently appointed archbishops who would scarcely have been chosen by the clergy of Christ Church, if they had elected freely. In some, and specially in important, elections to other sees, the action of the civil power is also prominent. Wilfrith was elected Bishop of the Northumbrians by the two Northumbrian kings in a witenagemot, with the consent of the witan and all the people. Cuthbert was chosen by Ecgfrith to succeed Tunbert at Hexham, and was afterwards elected by a council of ecclesiastics and laymen, held under the presidency of Archbishop Theodore, in the presence of the king; and Oftfor was elected Bishop of the Hwiccas "by the judgment of all," probably in a Mercian witenagemot. In later times, Helmstan, who was consecrated to the see of Winchester in 839, declared in his profession of obedience that he had been elected by the pope, by the "congregation of the city of Winchester," King Æthelwulf, and the bishops, nobles, and people of Wessex. Florence of Worcester, who evidently had access to Winchester records not now known to exist, says briefly that he succeeded to the see "by command of the king." He was probably selected by the king and sent on an embassy to Rome; the pope expressed his approval of the king's choice, he was elected by his church either before setting out or on his return, and after he had come back was appointed in a West Saxon witenagemot.

by the civil power.

From these notices it may be gathered that, while theoretically the clergy of the bishop's church had the right of free election, and sometimes exercised it, of course with the king's consent and approval, the king in heptarchic times as a rule nominated the bishop, probably in most cases holding some communication with the clergy of the episcopal church. An election was made in accordance with his appointment by the clergy; in this election the people often took a part which was generally, at least, confined, like their part in witenagemots,

to applauding the announcement of what had been done, and this was followed by an election in the next witenagemot, in which the choice of the king and the clergy was declared, and of course approved. As the royal authority increases under the house of Ecgbert, appointments to bishoprics are evidently determined solely by the king's will. Clerical election still survived, but it became a mere matter of form, and though the formal appointment was made in a meeting of the witan, their advice and consent could not have signified anything more than that the king acted with his ordinary counsellors. In the eleventh century the bishop-elect was consecrated in obedience to a royal writ, and in the reign of the Confessor received his bishopric at the king's hands by investiture with the insignia of his office, a crosier and ring.

English bishops were in virtue of their office members of the witenagemot, first in each heptarchic kingdom, and later in the consolidated kingdom. Other ecclesiastics also sat in these assemblies, though not in virtue of their office. Their number was few in early times, and they were perhaps only the king's priests or chaplains, the abbot of some neighbouring church, or some churchman called to the assembly for a special and personal reason. In the witenagemot the king made laws with the advice and consent of the witan, the counsel of his bishops being expressly stated on several occasions. These laws were often on ecclesiastical as well as civil matters; no line was drawn between obligations to God and to the State. The witenagemot was also the supreme court of justice, and the bishops, as members of it, took part in the determination of suits and in all other business.

The part of the Church in national legislation.

From the time of Theodore to the period of the Danish wars, the Church, as we have seen, had its own councils. To these each bishop seems to have brought with him a few of his principal clergy, abbots and priests. The business transacted was purely ecclesiastical, canons were decreed, and disputes between churches with respect to land were, if possible, arranged, though an arbitration concerning title to property would not be legally binding, unless it were confirmed by a civil court. In other respects the decisions of these

Ecclesiastical legislation

councils do not seem to have needed confirmation by the secular power. When after the Danish wars purely ecclesiastical councils were no longer held, the Church lost the means of independent self-government. Ecclesiastical legislation was then either supplied by enactments of the king and the witan, or was carried on by constitutions drawn up by archbishops, and issued by royal authority, or by canons framed by private ecclesiastics, and deriving such authority as they possessed from their intrinsic merit or the estimation in which their authors were held.

carried on in witenagemots.

In the witenagemots of the tenth and eleventh centuries matters of a purely ecclesiastical character were made the subjects of legislation, and the observance of feasts and fasts was decreed by the same assembly that ordered the punishment of deserters from the national militia. It must, however, be remembered that the witenagemot was by no means a purely secular body; it included the chief officers of the kingdom, clerical as well as lay, bishops and ealdormen, together with a varying number of others nominated by the king. The bishops generally attended in large number, and the clerical element was strengthened in the tenth century by the presence of abbots. In an assembly of 934 there were present the two archbishops, four Welsh kings, seventeen bishops, twelve ealdormen, four abbots, and fifty-two thegns; in another of 968, the two archbishops, eight bishops, four abbots, seven ealdormen, and twenty thegns. In another of 980 were present the two archbishops, ten bishops, six ealdormen, and fourteen thegns; and in another of 1002, six æthelings, or, to adopt a modern phrase, princes of the blood, the two archbishops, twelve bishops, twelve abbots, three earls, and fifteen thegns. The influence of the clergy in these assemblies was therefore strong, and was acknowledged in legislation not less fully in later than in earlier times. In the laws enacted in the witenagemot of Greatanlea, Æthelstan, as we have already seen, speaks of the counsel of Archbishop Wulfhelm and "my other bishops." The ecclesiastical laws of Eadmund, though published in a mixed assembly of laymen and ecclesiastics, are described as the fruit of the deliberations of the archbishops and bishops, and certain of Æthelred's laws are

declared to have been chosen by the king and the witan, ecclesiastical and lay. While, then, the Church lost its separate legislative assemblies, it was not made subject to a lay assembly, but rather joined with the laity in legislating for itself and for the State. The union between Church and State was so close that their action in legislation cannot be separated.

Tribal basis of the episcopate.

The position of an English bishop differed widely from that held by a bishop in countries where the municipal system of the Roman province had survived Teutonic conquest. There, the city was the seat of all political life and local authority, and was the place of residence of the wealthy proprietors of the surrounding district, which formed its territory, and was ruled by its oligarchy. Accordingly, in Gaul, for example, the episcopal sees were established in cities, and the bishop took a leading part in municipal politics, and was the rival or ally of the Frankish count. By the ninth century, the bishops of Gaul were little different from secular lords, they were greedy for wealth and power, they had shaken off obedience to their metropolitans, and they oppressed their clergy. In England, on the other hand, where the polity of the invaders was unaffected by Roman institutions, the episcopate was, as we have seen, arranged on a tribal basis. Many episcopal churches were planted in small villages, some of which seem to have grown up round the minster. Others, it is true, were planted in the chief towns of kingdoms, yet their bishops were not the less bishops of peoples, for the English city had no independent political importance, such as pertained to the cities of Gaul.

Its influence.

The English bishops, then, did not become secular potentates, like the Frankish bishops; for though the two archbishops held positions of secular power, they did not seek to become secular lords. The bishops did not cast off metropolitan authority, or oppress their clergy, and were seldom drawn into political struggles. Save one or two Archbishops of Canterbury, who were involved in politics by their position in Kent, and one Archbishop of York, they seem to have kept clear of politics altogether, until the West Saxon dynasty became predominant. After that date they still, as a rule, avoided independent political action, but many of them

became involved in politics as ministers of the crown, and they were called upon to take an active share in local administration. The employment of the bishops and clergy in secular affairs was a gain to the nation, for it gave the State the services of men more highly trained than the laity. But it was, on the whole, calamitous to the Church, for while it certainly gave it a strong hold on the national life, it was a hindrance to spirituality and in many cases to ecclesiastical activity.

In addition to his share in the legislative and judicial work of the witenagemot, the bishop had an important place in local administration. When the shire-system was organised he held a position in it co-relative to that of the ealdorman. As the ealdorman was the civil governor of the shire, so the bishop was its spiritual ruler. In special emergencies he sometimes, as we have already seen, marched with the ealdorman at the head of the local force. In the shire-moot he sat with the ealdorman to declare the law of God, as the ealdorman declared the civil law, and he also had a right, probably exercised only on occasions of special importance, to sit in the court of the hundred. Certain classes of suits determined in these courts seem to have specially belonged to his jurisdiction. As the head and guardian of his clergy, who were in his *mund* or legal protection, he would uphold their rights in the court, and would pronounce sentence on clerical offenders. He was also the legal protector of the stranger and the widow, and would specially guard their rights. Within his particular province fell suits concerning certain crimes, such as perjury, and incest, and offences against the Church, infringement of sanctuary, or robbery from churches. In such cases he would act in the secular courts in virtue of his spiritual office, for, so far as the public law was concerned, there were no special courts for the trial of ecclesiastical persons or causes before the Norman Conquest. The bishop would also give special attention to the legal processes of compurgation and ordeal, of which something must be said later. His functions in the court, however, were not confined to these matters; he acted in all suits together with the ealdorman, and, as the exponent of God's law, would be expected to check undue severity or wrongful judgments.

The bishop in temporal jurisdiction;

While ecclesiastics were tried in the same court as laymen on all charges of which the civil law took cognisance, the bishop also exercised a disciplinary jurisdiction over his clergy, apparently, in his private court, where he was aided by his archdeacon. This officer first appears in the history of the English Church, in the person of Wulfred, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury; for the bishop's deacon of earlier times was simply his attendant, and assistant in spiritual ministrations. Some traces of this jurisdiction appear in secular laws. A special penalty was provided for perjury before a bishop; a clerk guilty of homicide, or other enormous crime, was degraded by the bishop, and sent out of the land until he had performed such penance and pilgrimage as the pope might prescribe; and all ecclesiastical offences for which the civil law provided no remedy, such as a clerk's drunkenness or neglect of duty, were punished by the "doom" of the bishop. The bishop also directed the penitential discipline inflicted on the laity for their souls' health. In the cases in which he exercised spiritual jurisdiction, whether over clerks or laymen, apart from his jurisdiction in the civil courts, his sentence was, if necessary, enforced by excommunication. Nor would the offender be absolved until he had made amends by the payment of a fine, and submitted himself to the bishop's sentence. As the secular law concerned itself with moral and religious as well as civil obligations, the excommunicate person was forced to submission in order to be within the protection of the peace, and there was no one so highly placed that he could contemn the sentence of the Church. The support given by the civil power to ecclesiastical jurisdiction is illustrated by a law of 1008, which says that, "if any excommunicated man, unless he be a frith-suppliant (one seeking restoration), dwell anywhere near the king, before he has earnestly submitted to divine bot (made amends to the Church), be it at the peril of himself and all that he has." The spheres of action of the Church and the State in jurisdiction, as well as legislation, were closely connected, and, as it seems, imperfectly defined; yet there is no sign of disagreement between them as to their respective powers and functions until after the Norman Conquest.

in spiritual jurisdiction.

The dignified position accorded to the clergy may be gathered from the laws on the "wer-gild," the value attached by the law to the lives of men of different classes. The subject is somewhat involved. It has, however, been laid down by high authority that, in most of the heptarchic kingdoms, the "wer" of the simple freeman was assessed at 200 shillings, that of a thegn and a priest at six times as much, that of a bishop and ealdorman at four times as much as that of a thegn, and that of the king and archbishop at six times as much. By the later law of the northern people, an archbishop had the same "wer" as an ætheling, a bishop as an ealdorman, a mass-priest as a thegn. On the same principle, he who fought in the presence of an ætheling or an archbishop was fined 150 shillings, in the presence of a bishop or an ealdorman 100 shillings. The amount of a man's "wer" determined the legal value of his oath in a civil or criminal action, and the number of compurgators that he was required to produce in support of it. The word of a bishop was incontrovertible; the oath of the mass-priest was of equal value to that of the thegn.

The legal status of the clergy.

The legal process of the ordeal, the appeal to the judgment of God, adopted in criminal cases when the truth could not otherwise be ascertained, was carried out under ecclesiastical supervision and with religious ceremonies. The accuser having sworn to the truth of his charge, and the accused to his innocence, the accused was taken before the priest who was to conduct the ordeal, three nights before it was to take place. From that time he was to fast on bread and water, herbs and salt, and each morning was to be present at the mass. On the third morning the priest publicly adjured him not to venture on the ordeal unless he was innocent, gave him the sacrament, and received his declaration of innocence. Then followed the ordeal, which usually took the form of trial either by hot water or hot iron. The water or iron, as the case might be, was heated in the church. The priest made the male friends of the two parties stand in opposite rows, and sprinkled them with holy water. After he had sung the litany, he hallowed the water or iron, and the trial was made. The accused either plunged his hand and arm into a caldron full of

Ordeals.

boiling water and drew out a stone, or carried a bar of glowing iron three paces along the floor of the church. The injured arm was bandaged by the priest, and was not uncovered until the third day, when the guilt or innocence of the accused was decided by its condition.

The parish priest had, like his bishop, his place in the machinery of local administration. As the bishop made the diocese, so did the priest make the parish. When churches were built, one or more townships became the district of a church and the parish of its priest, who, as he was the constituent personage of this ecclesiastical unit, came to be called its *persona* or parson. In each township the landholders formed a distinct body with certain rights of self-government, and the priest had a recognised position in its secular life, for when the reeve and four best men of the township went, as they were bound to go, to attend the local courts, the parish priest went with them. His learning, though in most cases small, was more than his neighbours', and he must therefore have taken a useful part in the ordinary business of the township. He would be able to write, he possibly knew something of arithmetic, and he might even be equal to translating a Latin document, if a question arose which could be settled by documentary evidence. The church where his parishioners met for ecclesiastical purposes would often be used by them for secular business, and so it came to pass that certain matters not connected with religion were, and still are, transacted in vestries, and that the parson of the parish has a legal right to preside at vestry-meetings, though the business for which they are called may be secular in character.

The parish priest in secular business;

For good, and sometimes for ill, the English parish priest was one with his parishioners in other matters besides local business. The priests of the great minsters, once held by monks, and by the tenth century served by bodies of secular clergy, were for the most part richer and better born than their fellows. Those of the ordinary parochial churches were probably not different from their neighbours either in birth or means. At least from the time of the Danish invasions, the parish priest would, it may be gathered, generally be a married man living with his wife.

in daily life;

He would be fairly well off, deriving the larger part of his living from the cultivation of the land which had been granted to his church. Some increase to his income would come from offerings at the mass, from plough-alms, the penny from every plough-land paid yearly in the fortnight after Easter, and the fees paid for burials. In the tenth century, if his church had a burial-ground, he also received a share of the tithe.

He and his church were connected with the pleasures of his people. He announced their holidays, the church festivals, on which slaves as well as freemen rested from labour, and he was liable to a civil penalty if he gave a wrong notice. Among the holidays of his parishioners the festival of his church was a day of special merry-making, and he was bound to do his best to prevent the "church-wake" from being made, as it too often was, an occasion for excess. In common with many of his neighbours, he would often be a member of a gild, an association for mutual help of various kinds. The gild, though not a religious institution, generally seems to have performed some religious acts, at least in the burial of a gild member, and he would act as its chaplain, his position in this respect being carefully guarded from interference, for no other priest might deprive him of his rights in "minster, shrift-shire, or gildship." He would take a leading part in the gild-feast, and then, and probably at all merry-makings, was ready to join in the music and singing, without which no English feast would have seemed complete; for whatever he might have forgotten since his school-days, his knowledge of music would have been kept up by constant practice in divine service. If he was a godly man, he would doubtless, when the harp came round to him, sing some religious verses, perhaps some paraphrase from Scripture, made by Cædmon, or Ealdhelm, or one of Cædmon's imitators, which in simple words and with stately cadences told the story of man's redemption.

in festivity;

The religious teaching which he gave to his parishioners would not be of a learned kind; but, unless his bishop was careless as to the qualifications of those whom he ordained, he would be able to explain to them the elements of the Christian faith, and the meaning of the most important parts of the services of the Church. In

in his clerical duties;

somewhat later days than those to which our narrative has brought us, he was bound to give instruction to the children of his parishioners, and the better parish priests no doubt did so, according to their ability. If a bishop was active in the visitation of his diocese, he would exercise some supervision over the work of the parochial clergy, and, in any case, every parish priest had once in the year to go to the cathedral church to fetch the chrism, or consecrated oil, and seems then to have been liable to be called upon to answer questions concerning his services. Every day the priest said mass, and on Sundays and festivals the service was performed with greater dignity. The observance of Sunday was strictly enforced by the civil law, and all work was forbidden both to freeman and slave, under heavy penalties. The Church taught that all men were to attend mass on that day, and this duty was to be performed even when a man was on a necessary journey. The services of the Church were of course in Latin, the gospel being explained in English by good priests. The priest was bound to be ready at all times to minister to the religious needs of his people, to hear confessions, and specially to administer baptism as soon as it was required of him. He was not to receive payment for the discharge of his office, save in the case of burial fees. If a sick man desired to declare his last will to his priest, it was the priest's duty to take one or two others with him to the man's house, that there might be no dispute afterwards. To the dying he carried the housel which he had previously consecrated, and was bound to keep ready in his church for the use of those who needed it. He heard the last confession of the dying penitent, pronounced the words of absolution, anointed him with oil, and lastly administered to him the Eucharist, or viaticum, to strengthen his soul for the journey which lay before it.

The close fellowship between the parish priest and his people was unhappily not without its drawbacks. Society was rude, and the clergy did not always keep themselves free from contamination. Canons and penitentiaries bear witness that the national vice of drinking to excess was a snare to not a few of them, and it was also needful to warn them against hunting, hawking, and dicing. Yet we may fairly believe that as

one with his parishioners.

a body they did live better lives than their neighbours; they had a higher standard set before them, were bound by a stricter law, and their fellowship with their people must have had a beneficial influence on society.

The care of the Church for slaves and poor.

Not the least satisfactory point in the relations of the Church and the people is the care which it showed for the poor, and specially for slaves. That it should have forbidden slavery is not to be expected, for the idea that the institution of slavery is contrary to the will of God did not arise until a far later period. It is much that the Church should have mitigated the lot of slaves, and taught men that to give them their freedom was a Christian act which would not lose its reward. Slaves were of different sorts. Some were born to absolute slavery; others were unfree, yet received wages for their work; others had lost their freedom because they could not pay the money penalties they had incurred, and others had sold themselves, or had been sold by their parents, in times of famine. All alike were the property of their master, and had no remedy against his cruelty. The Church protected their lives by declaring that the man who slew his slave without sentence of law should be excommunicated, or do penance for two years, and that the woman who in her rage whipped her female slave to death, should do penance for seven, or at the least five years, and be shut out from the Holy Communion, unless she fell sick before the time of her penance was over. Archbishop Theodore decreed that a man might not take money which his slave had earned, and some slaves were consequently able to buy their freedom and the freedom of their children. Equally with the freeman, the slave was ordered to rest on Sundays and Church festivals. If his master forced him to work, a law of Ine gave him his freedom, though a later law punished his master with a fine only. The Church strictly forbade the selling of slaves to heathens, and the kidnapping of men. If a female slave was taken to wife by a freeman, he might not afterwards repudiate her, and a law of Æthelbert of Kent ordered that the marriage of a female slave should be respected under a "twofold" penalty.

Both by example and precept the Church incited men to give slaves their freedom, and to relieve the wants of the

poor. Of the charity of the Church towards the poor, little need be said; it was lavish and constant. All ecclesiastics of eminence gave largely in charity. The giving of alms was enjoined as profitable to the soul of the giver, and to the souls of the departed for whose sake they were given, and as a means by which a penitent could obtain a speedier and fuller remission of sins. The teaching of the Church on this point is illustrated by the clauses in wills directing that money should be given to the poor, by the custom of distributing alms at the commemorations of founders and benefactors of churches, by donations like that of Æthelwulf, and by a canon of the council of 747, which deals at length with the duty of almsgiving. Spiritual benefits of the same kind were promised to those who for the love of God gave slaves their freedom. Wilfrith, it will be remembered, freed the whole population, two hundred and fifty persons, on his Selsey estate, after having baptized them, evidently because he would not keep in slavery those whom Christ had made free. By the Council of Chelsea, held by Archbishop Wulfred in 816, it was decreed that on the death of a bishop, a tenth of all his personal possessions should be given to the poor, that every bondman of English race acquired by his Church during his episcopate should be set free, and that every bishop and abbot should free three men for the sake of the soul of the departed. While it is unlikely that this canon was fully obeyed, it was by no means ineffectual; for Ælfwold, Bishop of Crediton, early in the eleventh century, ordered in his will that every slave on his estates, whether penal or bought with his money, should be set free at his death. The influence which the clergy exercised in this direction is proved by the constant occurrence in ancient wills of a clause ordering the manumission of slaves. Deeds of manumission were laid upon the altar, and records of them were kept in the books of minsters.

Alms and manumissions.

Authorities.—For further information on the subjects of this chapter, the reader is referred to Bp. Stubbs's *Constitutional History*, vol. i.; Lingard's *History and Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, London, 2nd edit., 1858; Haddan and Stubbs's *Councils and Eccl. Docs.* vol. iii.; Thorpe's *Ancient Laws and Institutes*, and his *Diplomatarium*, London, 1865, and Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus*.

CHAPTER XVII

THE MONASTIC REVIVAL

Extinction of Benedictinism

However true it may be that the advance of society, and the duties which in modern days are incumbent on Christian men, have rendered monasticism unsuited to the present time, there can be no question that, during the first five centuries of the existence of the English Church, the spiritual, moral, and intellectual welfare of the English people depended on the condition of its monasteries. In the middle of the tenth century the Rule of St. Benedict, the standard of monasticism in Western Christendom, was, according to virtually contemporary authority, completely unknown in England. This will not appear strange if we consider that it was never very generally or strictly carried out here, that the Danish invasions had broken the continuity of monastic life, and that not many years earlier the very existence of the Rule had been forgotten in not a few continental monasteries. While there seems no difficulty in accepting this statement literally, it may be observed that it would not be disproved even should copies of the Rule be found to have remained in minster libraries. For the Benedictine Rule, as it was then understood in certain reformed monasteries of the continent, and later by the reformers of English monasticism, meant something more than the broad principles laid down by its author; it had been made the foundation of an elaborate system. In any case, Benedictinism had become extinct in England, and with it, all true monastic life seems also to have disappeared.

While a man may properly be styled a monk if he has

taken monastic vows, though he may be a hermit, or live in the society of secular persons, lay or clerical, true monastic life, as understood in the West, implies conformity to the conventual system. Now, there were in England, about the middle of the tenth century and earlier, many bodies of ecclesiastics who were called monks, but had no right to the title. There were also, probably, men who had taken the vows, some of them, no doubt, with a genuine monastic spirit. Yet there is reason to believe that true conventual life had ceased to exist. A Benedictine writer of the time, speaking of the state of things after monasticism had been restored at Glastonbury and Abingdon, says that there were no monks in England except in those two monasteries. His assertion must be taken to mean that true conventual life did not exist anywhere except at Glastonbury and Abingdon, where it had lately been restored. Nor was it far otherwise, probably, with the monasteries of women. As men's minsters had fallen into the hands of the secular clergy, so, doubtless, women's minsters, and their lands, were held by "nuns" who did not necessarily live in common, and dressed more or less like secular ladies.

and of true conventual life.

The change which, as we saw, had begun in Christ Church, Canterbury, by the time of Archbishop Wulfred, had run its course there, and in the other episcopal churches in Southern England once served by monks. They were in the first half of the tenth century served by secular clergy, the clerks of the bishop, while in the North the church of St. Cuthbert was in the hands of a mixed body of seculars and regulars. Nor was it otherwise with the minsters generally. Throughout the Northern and Midland districts the monasteries lay in ruins. Both there and in the South, monastic lands had to no small extent passed into the possession of laymen, while such as remained to the Church were held by the secular clergy of the minsters. These clergy were often called monks, and sometimes the family of the minster; their head was sometimes styled abbot, and was appointed by the king, or bishop, or other lord of the minster. The minster-clergy were generally married, and therefore did not live a common life; they did not dwell within a cloister, and used neither dormitory nor refectory.

Secular clergy in minsters.

They were, as a rule, better born and richer than the ordinary parish priests, and some of them are said, by the monks who took their places, to have been luxurious and immoral.

Grants to minsters.

The immediate successors of Alfred gave many grants to minsters. So much at least we know, though the amount of their donations cannot be ascertained, owing partly to the untrustworthy character of several of the charters which purport to record them. These grants did nothing towards the restoration of monasticism, for they were made to communities which did not profess the monastic life. Nor must they lead us to imagine that these nominally monastic communities were very large landowners. It is true that the grants to minsters were, as was the usual custom, secured to the grantees by tremendous verbal sanctions, such as, "If any infringe or nullify this donation, and far be it from the minds of the faithful, may they have their portion with those of whom it is said, Depart from Me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire," and such-like anathemas. Yet lands granted to minsters were often lost, sometimes, probably, through voluntary, though wrongful, alienation, more often through being leased and not restored, while in some cases they were simply seized. At the same time, the lands still left to the minsters were amply sufficient to keep the clergy who served them in comfort, specially as they spent nothing on their churches, and little, probably, in helping the poor.

Condition of society. Religion and learning.

What meanwhile was the spiritual, moral, and intellectual condition of society? On the answer to this question must depend our estimate of the value of the monastic revival which will be the principal subject of this and the next chapter. Religion must have suffered severely from the destruction of the minsters and churches in the districts conquered by the Danes, and even in Wessex many churches appear to have fallen into a state of disrepair. The parish clergy were apparently giving way to the temptations arising from their oneness with their people, and, as is probable from subsequent events, were not diligent in preaching. Learning must have sunk to a low ebb in the North and the Midlands, for the monastic schools had perished along with the monasteries, and even in the South

the lack of monastic teaching had as yet hindered the efforts of Alfred from bearing much fruit. The impulse which he gave to literary work seems to have been spent; no more books were translated into English, and after the reign of his son the national *Chronicle* becomes meagre and confused. Generally, it seems evident from the attention given to teaching by the chief agents in the monastic revival, and from the emphasis with which their efforts are recorded by their scholars and biographers, that they were doing a work which had previously been neglected. In Wessex, the condition of education may be gathered from the fact that at Glastonbury, in the land once included in the diocese of Ealdhelm, to whom Irish scholars used to come for instruction, the work of teaching was in the early part of the tenth century carried on by Irishmen.

With regard to public morality the case is clearer. The signs of laxity in the relations of the sexes are unmistakable. Unhallowed unions in which the woman was wedded by the appointment of a dower secured by "weds" or pledges, without any solemn form of marriage, and without the blessing of the Church, were common, and had always been recognised as lawful. This custom naturally led to abuses, which became specially frequent after the general decline in religion and civilisation consequent on the long period of wars with the Danes. Among them were the weddings of persons too near akin, and a habit of regarding the contract as one which might be rescinded at the mere will of the parties. Unions were formed which might be perpetual, but might, on the other hand, be dissolved at the end of a year by the will either of the man or the woman, the party choosing to retire having a right to the issue, if any, of the union. These evils were not confined to the lower class, they were to be found in kings' houses.

Morality.

Some change for the better was greatly needed, and could only be brought about by the introduction of a higher standard of life. This was not to be looked for from the secular clergy. As married men, they were not themselves living in what was then reckoned the more perfect way. The minster-clergy were too like the rich laity, the parish priests too like their neighbours, to do

Monasticism a regenerating force.

anything effectual towards a regeneration of society. The monastic life, on the other hand, when faithfully carried out, afforded the clergy and laity of all ranks a striking exhibition of self-renunciation and continence, voluntarily undertaken for God's sake. In a revival of monasticism lay the only hope of a general improvement in religion, morality, and learning. Already there seem to have been men who desired to re-awaken a zeal for this life, not, indeed, for the sake of society, but because they believed it to be specially pleasing to God. A movement towards a monastic revival was soon made. This movement seems to have had its origin in the teaching and influence of Ælfheah, Bishop of Winchester.

The revival of Benedictinism.

Almost from the first, some of the leaders of this movement recognised that their work would be incomplete unless they aimed at the attainment of the highest form of monastic life. The Benedictine Rule, and the most approved method of carrying it out, were learnt abroad and introduced into England. And hence it is that certain relations between England and foreign lands, already noticed here, some of them not of immediate ecclesiastical interest, have an important place in the history of the English Church. They led the monastic reformers to seek help and instruction from the monasteries of other lands, and brought them into connection with the monastic movement on the continent. For the monastic revival in England must not, any more than the revolt from Rome and the religious changes of the sixteenth century, be regarded as a merely insular affair; it was part of a widespread movement which had already made some progress, and was still progressing, in other countries. In England the revival bore good fruit. Yet the adoption of the Benedictinism of the reformed monasteries of the continent, though a necessary completion of the earlier movement, was accompanied by some drawbacks. The friends of the new monasticism were not content to allow churches or lands which had once been monastic to remain in the hands of secular clergy, and acted harshly and unjustly in depriving men of property to which they had a prescriptive right.

This chapter will mainly be concerned with the beginnings of the monastic revival in England, and the next with the adoption of the new system which had been founded on the

Benedictine Rule, and with events more or less closely related to it. The whole course of the change in both its stages falls within, and is intimately connected with, the life of one famous churchman, St. Dunstan, the leader of the early revival, and though by no means prominent in the Benedictine reform of the minsters, an important factor in its success. Subjects of two chapters.

Dunstan, the son of Heorstan and his wife Cynethryth, was born in 924 or 925. His parents, who lived near Glastonbury, were probably noble, for he had kinsmen at the court of Æthelstan, and he was related to a lady named Æthelflæd, who was Æthelstan's niece. Archbishop Athelm is said to have been his father's brother, and Bishops Ælfheah of Winchester and Cynesige of Lichfield were also related to him. His mother was a godly woman, and her name may perhaps be discerned under the Keondrud in the list of those whom Bishop Cynewald caused to be enrolled in the confraternity of St. Gall. Parentage of St. Dunstan.

The boy received his education at Glastonbury. Of the existence of this monastery in the days of Ine and St. Boniface there is historical evidence; a list of its abbots from Ine's time, drawn up by the beginning of the eleventh century, may be considered fairly authoritative, and some of its many early charters are entitled to consideration. It appears again in genuine narrative as the burial-place of an ealdorman of Somerset in the reign of Æthelred. No small part of its later renown, which its monks, and its historian, William of Malmesbury, sought in the twelfth century to enhance by fables and legends, was due to its connection with Dunstan. Yet its claims to remote antiquity were at least as early as his time. In his youth he worshipped in its two churches—the "ancient church" dedicated to St. Mary, which, even in his days, was believed to have been of earlier date than the West Saxon conquest, and to have been made by no mortal hands; and the stone church of St. Peter, built by the West Saxon king. It had shared the fate of other English monasteries. Conventual life had ceased there, its property had fallen into the hands of secular clergy, who served its churches, and its abbot was appointed by the crown. At the same time it was a popular shrine. Æthelstan used to pray Glastonbury.

there, and many pilgrims came thither, and specially pilgrims from Ireland, for it was believed to have been the burial-place of the younger St. Patrick.

Some of these Irish pilgrims were Dunstan's instructors. From them, perhaps, he imbibed the ecstatic temperament which had so strong an influence on his religious life, and stands in such striking contrast to the practical side of his character, to his moderation and wisdom as an ecclesiastical reformer and a statesman. He studied the Scriptures, read the books of his Irish teachers, and other books also, which shows that, in spite of changes, books still remained in the library of the house. He learnt quickly, and even as a boy had an unusual sense of the Divine presence, for as he read the Scriptures, it seemed to him as though God was talking with him, and when he prayed, he felt that he was speaking to God. With the consent of his parents, he received the clerical tonsure in boyhood, and the child ministered before the Lord in the ancient church of the Lord's mother.

Dunstan's education.

Dunstan's tonsure and service as an acolyte would not, of course, have debarred him from entering on a lay career. He was introduced to Æthelstan, and was admitted among the band of young nobles, some of them his own kinsmen, who were trained at the court to be the future war-band and personal attendants of the king, to hunt, and hawk, and fight. This change in his life did not probably take him far from Glastonbury, for Æthelstan, and Eadmund, his brother and successor, evidently resided much in the neighbourhood, possibly at Wedmore, where Alfred seems to have had a royal residence. The gentle, studious lad met with no acceptance among the gay young nobles of the court. Ignorant themselves, they declared that his learning proved that he practised magical arts, and persuaded the king to dismiss him. On his departure they laid wait for him, bound him hand and foot, and rolled him in a muddy pool. While he was still smarting from his disgrace, his kinsman Bishop Ælfheah tried to persuade him to become a monk—not a mere sharer in monastic property, but a monk vowed to continence, and wearing the habit. The youth resisted the appeal, for he hoped some day to marry; but he fell dangerously ill, sent for the bishop to

He becomes a monk.

visit him, and accepted his counsels. On his recovery Ælfheah consecrated him as a monk, and at a later period admitted him to the priesthood.

Attends on Bp. Ælfheah.

After receiving the monastic habit, Dunstan stayed some time with Ælfheah, and acted as his attendant. On one occasion we are told how he went with the bishop to the dedication of a church which the pious citizens of Winchester had built near the west gate of their city, and how after the ceremony they feasted with the citizens and their wives. As they were walking home at nightfall, they came to the church of St. Gregory, and Ælfheah proposed that they should enter and say compline. After they had ended their prayers, they confessed each to the other, and the bishop began to say the words of absolution, when, as they were leaning one towards the other, a great stone fell just between their heads, without hurting either of them. This the biographer, who no doubt heard the story from Dunstan himself, believed to be one of many unavailing attempts of Satan against Dunstan's life. The citizens had perhaps given so much to the building of their new church that they had allowed the roof of St. Gregory's to fall into disrepair.

His life at Glastonbury.

Dunstan returned to Glastonbury, and seems to have lived more or less as an anchoret; there was no conventual life there in which he could participate. He studied the Scriptures, and became skilled in the arts of transcription, painting, and music, playing much upon the harp, which was his constant companion. It was, perhaps, at this time that he built himself a little cell, which was shown in the next century, and is said to have been no larger than five feet long by two and a half in breadth. There he lived and worked, and, as he believed, saw visions, and wrestled with the tempter in bodily shape. His earliest biographer records visions which he had on different occasions. Some were doubtless dreams, others, we may suppose, the results of a highly strung condition of the nervous system, fostered by frequent periods of solitude and ecstatic devotion, combined with a strong belief in the constant interposition of spiritual agencies in the affairs of daily life. After his death traditions were rife concerning his supernatural communications and conflicts. The story of how

he seized the devil by the nose, which is the one thing some people seem to know about this great man, first appears in a biography of the eleventh century. It is likely enough that Dunstan should have assaulted some human tempter in this way, for he was a bold and vigorous person, with a frame strengthened by constant labour, and that the incident, which he may himself have related, should in time have assumed a weird and marvellous character.

He was an admirable smith, working in gold and silver and other metals, and made bells, organs, and other articles of church furniture. We must not suppose that his days of solitude and his craftsman's occupations belong only to his early life. The practice of arts and crafts was always dear to him, and he probably pursued them whenever he had leisure for many years, for it was after he became archbishop that he presented an organ, bells, and a holy-water stoup of his own making to Malmesbury Abbey. His strong yet gentle character attracted women to him; his kinswoman Æthelflæd, whom he dearly loved, entrusted him at her death with the disposal of her property, and we find another lady, named Æthelwynn, inviting him to her house that he might draw a design for a stole which she wished to embroider. King Eadmund, either on the recommendation of Archbishop Wulfhelm, or because he had become acquainted with him when residing near Glastonbury, summoned him to his court and made him one of his counsellors.

An artist and craftsman.

Among those who stood near Eadmund's throne, and have therefore a claim to share in the praise due to his policy, was Oda, to whom, on the death of Wulfhelm, in 942, the king, with the advice of his witan, offered the see of Canterbury. Oda held that none but a monk ought to sit in the chair of St. Augustine, and as he was evidently dissatisfied with such monasticism as there was in England, he either went, or sent, to the Abbey of Fleury, of which he had doubtless heard much when on his embassy to Duke Hugh, to request the convent to grant him the monastic habit.

Abp. Oda and Fleury.

The Abbey of Fleury, or Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, near the modern town of Châteauneuf, was founded early in the seventh century, and soon became famous, for one of its

early abbots brought thither the body of the great St. Benedict from Monte Cassino, which was then exposed to the attacks of the Lombards. It was a place of learning and education in the reign of Charlemagne, it was enriched by Lewis the Pious, and in the time of Charles the Bald as many as five thousand scholars are said to have been taught there. In the ninth century it suffered much from the invasions of the Northmen. The usual effects followed; the house became utterly disorganised; the brethren fell away from the strictness of monastic life, and no longer observed the duties either of obedience or abstinence. Grieved at the fall of so noble a monastery, a certain godly count, named Heliziard, obtained a grant of it from King Rodolf, and invited Odo, the Abbot of Cluny, to reform it. As the reformation of Fleury may be said to have led to the reformation of our English monasteries, the character of Odo's work there is not foreign to our subject. He restored obedience to the Rule of St. Benedict, and laid down how that Rule was to be obeyed. Benedict, as we have seen, dealt more with principles than with details of practice, and left room for difference of custom in minor matters. This liberty had its dangers, and in time men anxious for the welfare of monasticism felt the need of some code of directions to supplement the Rule.

Greatness and decay of Fleury.

An attempt to supply this need was made by Benedict of Aniane, who was appointed visitor of the monasteries of Aquitaine by Lewis the Pious. At a monastic council summoned by Lewis at Aachen, or Aix-la-Chapelle, in 817, his code (Codex Regularum) was accepted as binding on the monasteries of the empire. Benedict's scheme had two characteristics opposed to the spirit of the greater Benedict: it allowed no liberty of action, and it subjected monasteries to monarchical interference; it aimed at a rigid uniformity even in the most trifling matters, and it proposed to secure this uniformity through the agency of imperial inspectors. His scheme was soon abandoned. Nevertheless, his code had a profound influence on Western monasticism, for it afforded a basis on which later monastic rulers and reformers built constitutions, drawn up to meet the wants of their own times and of the convents of their own lands. This was so, as we

St. Benedict of Aniane.

shall see, in the Benedictine reformation in England. The characters of the different essays in Benedictine legislation may be roughly indicated by saying that the Rule of St. Benedict of Nursia was suited to saints, the system of Benedict of Aniane to children, and the work of the later reformers to men. The first left convents much freedom, the second left them none, the later reformers gave them rules which met the requirements of the times, and in some cases the spirit and habits of their own people.

Of these reformers there was none greater than Odo, the second Abbot of Cluny, the founder of the Cluniac community of Benedictines. While he did not bring Fleury into that community, and left it independent of Cluny, his reformation of the house was so thorough that Fleury quickly became a bright example of the purest monastic life, and was designated by Leo VII. as the head and chief of the monasteries of France. From Fleury the monasteries of Reims and Saumur, and other French houses, received the Rule as Odo had taught it. To Fleury English churchmen now began to look for a pattern of monasticism, and from it the monasteries of England in a few years' time received reformation.

Reform of Fleury.

After Oda had received the monastic habit he went to Canterbury, where he found his church in a sad state of neglect and standing roofless. Eadmund intended to repair it, but died before he had done so. After his death Oda thoroughly restored it, raised its walls, and covered it with a new roof. Some ecclesiastical laws enacted by Eadmund, in a witenagemot held at London, seem to betoken Oda's influence. Archbishops Oda and Wulfstan and many bishops were present at the assembly, and, we are told, "meditated concerning the state of their souls and of those subject to them." It was decreed that ordained persons, whether men or women, whose duty it was to set an example to God's people, should keep chastity under the canonical penalty. If they failed to make the prescribed amends, they were to forfeit their possessions, and not receive Christian burial. A like decree was also made in the case of adulterers and the debauchers of nuns. Another law concerning the wedding of women

Abp. Oda, 942-958.

Ecclesiastical laws.

was evidently aimed at making the union permanent, and securing the wife her rights. The man was to give a "wed," or pledge, that he would keep the woman "according to God's law as a husband should his wife"; she was to enter his family, and he was to declare what he would give her in case she outlived him. The legal dower, as we may call it, seems to have been one-third of the husband's goods; by this law the bridegroom might make it one-half of his property, and all if there were children. When these matters were settled, the woman "might be wedded to wife and to a right life." At a marriage, or "gifting of the bride,"—the ancient ceremony of giving the woman still survives in the Church's solemnisation of matrimony,—a mass priest was to be present to bind the union with God's blessing, and it was to be well looked to that the parties were not near akin, "lest they be afterwards sundered that before were wrongly joined."

Oda also spoke in his own name. As synodical action had fallen into disuse in the Church, the archbishop addressed a pastoral letter full of Christian zeal to his suffragans. After receiving his pall, he also published constitutions, founded on earlier precepts, which declared that the Church of God was free from all earthly tribute, admonished kings and temporal powers, bishops, priests, clerks, and monks with respect to their several duties, and declared that kings and earthly rulers should be obedient to their bishops, forasmuch as they had the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and forbade all unrighteous union with nuns or those near of kin. Comparatively little as we know of Oda's doings as archbishop, for we have no early biography of him, he may safely be regarded as a champion of Christian purity at a time when such championship was sorely needed.

Oda's constitutions.

Dunstan, who in later life was to take part in and carry on Oda's struggle against vice, must have delighted to be in his society at Eadmund's court. There, too, he gained the friendship of many lay nobles, and above all of Æthelstan, the Ealdorman of East Anglia, a man of royal descent, and probably a member of the reigning house, who was called the "Half-King" on account of his great power. Æthelstan was highly esteemed

Dunstan at Eadmund's court.

by the king, and his wife Ælfwen was the foster-mother of Eadgar, the younger of Eadmund's two sons. He was a godly man, and he and his four sons have a conspicuous place in the history of the Church as well as of the State.

His temporary disgrace.

While, however, Dunstan had powerful friends at court, he also had enemies. Their enmity against him may probably have arisen from the germs of the dissension which a few years later led to the disruption of the kingdom. They brought some false accusation against him, and the king, who believed their story, angrily bade him leave the court, and deprived him of his rank as one of his counsellors. There were then staying with the king certain men who had come to him from the "Eastern kingdom" (*regni videlicet orientis nuncii*), probably from East Anglia,[1] and Dunstan in his distress asked them to take him back with them. They promised that they would do so and would provide for him in their country. A day or two later the king, who was then residing in the neighbourhood of Glastonbury, possibly at Wedmore, rode out with his nobles to hunt, as he was wont, in Mendip Forest. His attendants dispersed in the forest, and the king, alone with his hounds, followed a stag which he had marked out, and rode with furious speed towards the deep gorge between Cheddar Cliffs. The hunted beast in its agony dashed blindly onward, fell over the precipice, and was followed by the hounds. Eadmund, seeing his danger, tried in vain to stop his horse. Death seemed near at hand, and, as he breathed a prayer, he remembered that there was one whom he had injured, and vowed that if his life were spared he

[1] Bishop Stubbs, whose opinion is entitled to the highest respect, thinks that the "Oriens regnum" of the contemporary Saxon biographer means the German kingdom; see *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, Introd. p. xvii. (Rolls ser.). The fact noted by the bishop that East Anglia is called "regnum" and "Orientale regnum" in the almost contemporary Life of Oswald (see *Historians of York*, i. 428, Rolls ser.) seems to point the other way. The powerful position of the ealdorman Æthelstan and his sons who succeeded him may indicate the policy pursued towards East Anglia after its annexation by Eadward. It had been a separate kingdom, and the king, like his father Alfred in the case of Mercia, may have made its complete incorporation gradual by leaving it a certain degree of autonomy. The title or nickname Half-King, however, no doubt refers to Æthelstan's power in the kingdom generally. He first appears as ealdorman in 928,

would make amends to Dunstan. His horse stopped on the very brink of the precipice. He turned and rode back, and as soon as he reached his palace, he called for Dunstan, and bade him mount and ride with him and a few of his followers.

Together the king and the monk straightway rode to Glastonbury, and when they came thither, entered the churches and prayed. The abbacy was vacant, and when the king had ended his prayer and wiped the tears from his eyes, for his deliverance from death had deeply moved him, he called Dunstan to him, took him by the hand, and after giving him a kiss of peace, led him to the abbot's throne. Seating him upon it, he said, "Of this seat be thou the lord and potent occupant, and of this church the very faithful abbot," and he promised that of his royal bounty he would give him whatsoever he lacked for the improvement of divine worship and for the monastic life of the house. This story, like much else which comes from the same source, was doubtless heard by the biographer from Dunstan's own lips, and there is no reason to doubt its truth. It probably belongs to the year 943. It illustrates the position of the monastery, which was part of the royal estates: the abbacy was vacant, and the appointment belonged to the king. Eadmund seems to have entrusted the abbey to Dunstan, that he might restore and reform it. The abbey was conferred on Dunstan at a later time, after he had begun to restore it, perhaps at the end of 945. He could not at that time have been much more than twenty-one. It was an age of young rulers, and the work of life was undertaken at an earlier age than it is now.

It was not long after he had received the abbey that, as he was riding one day with his friend Æthelstan in attendance on the king, he saw something which he took to be an evil spirit in the form of a black man. After he had shown it to his companion, the ealdorman told him of a dream that he had had, and Dunstan interpreted it as signifying that the king's death was near at hand. Again that day, he believed that he saw the evil spirit, and yet again three days later; and on that day, May 26, 946, the festival of St. Augustine of Canterbury, which was worthily observed among the English, Eadmund was

Death of Eadmund.

slain by a robber as he was feasting with his nobles at Pucklechurch in Gloucestershire. He was buried by Dunstan at Glastonbury.

With the accession of Eadred, the youngest son of Eadward, who was crowned by Oda at Kingston on August 16, Dunstan's career as a statesman begins. The king, who was almost of the same age as the abbot, made him his chief minister, and gave him charge of the royal "hoard" or treasure, which Dunstan kept at Glastonbury. All through his reign Eadred suffered from an internal disorder which brought him at last to an early grave, and though, in spite of grievous bodily distress, he showed much vigour at critical moments, and commanded his army in person, he must in the daily work of government have constantly been helped by his intimate advisers. The wise policy which he pursued may therefore in no small degree be ascribed to Dunstan's counsels. Besides Dunstan, Eadred's chief advisers were his mother Eadgifu, an able and religious woman, who helped him continually, and Æthelstan, the powerful Half-King. Both were Dunstan's firm friends, and all three were of one mind as regards the affairs of the Church, and, doubtless, of the State also.

Eadred's minister.

In the early years of the reign that crafty and turbulent prelate Wulfstan, Archbishop of York, again caused trouble in the North. Hoping to secure peace in Northumbria, Eadred in 947 visited the country and summoned the chief men to swear allegiance to him. The northern lords came to him with their archbishop, who appeared as their head, and took the required oaths. The next year, however, they broke their oaths, and chose Eirik, or Eric, the son of the Norwegian king Harold Fairhair, as their king. Wulfstan appears not to have taken any overt part in this insurrection, but, if we may judge from subsequent events, he was probably concerned in it. In the course of the successful campaign which Eadred made against the rebels, Wilfrith's minster at Ripon was burned. From the ruins of the church, Oda, who may have accompanied the king, carried off, or afterwards caused to be carried off, what he believed to be the body of the great Wilfrith, and placed it in his church at Canterbury. In memory of this event, Frithegode, the tutor

Archbishop Wulfstan's revolt.

of his nephew Oswald, composed a Life of Wilfrith in Latin verse, to which Oda wrote a short preface in amazingly turgid Latin. When the northern nobles deserted Eric, and chose in his place Olaf, the son of Sihtric, Wulfstan's old ally, the archbishop openly joined the rebels.

Eadred finally conquered the North in 954, and Eric and Olaf having both been driven away, put an end to the Northumbrian kingdom. He committed the government of the country to an earl—a bold and wise measure which one would willingly, and may perhaps rightly, ascribe to the counsels of Dunstan and Oda, the latter himself of a Danish family, and therefore likely to be specially consulted on such a matter. Dunstan was certainly present during one of the northern campaigns, for he saw the body of St. Cuthbert at Chester-le-Street, and found it, as he believed, still incorrupt. Wulfstan, against whom many accusations were made before the king, was at last punished for his frequent rebellions; he was taken in 952 and imprisoned in a fortress called Iudanburh, which is generally supposed to be Jedburgh. That, however, would not seem a safe place of confinement for the powerful northern prelate, and it is possible that Iudanburh may signify some fortress in Southern England. Two years later, when Eadred's victory was complete, he was released, and allowed again to exercise episcopal functions, not, however, in his own province, but in the diocese of Dorchester, where he had no political power. Oscytel of Dorchester ruled over his province. He was not restored to York, and on December 26, 956, died at Oundle, where, it will be remembered, his great predecessor Wilfrith had died. His fate shows that Dunstan, Eadred's chief counsellor, had no idea of allowing a rebellious bishop to shelter himself behind his sacred office. He was succeeded at York by Oscytel, of Dorchester, who was of Danish blood, and a near kinsman of Archbishop Oda.

His fall.

Dunstan's attendance on the king did not prevent him from spending a large, and probably by far the larger, part of his time at Glastonbury, where he rebuilt the Church of Ine, and at once raised new conventual buildings. He caused the members of the "familia" of his church to dwell together and have their meals in

Dunstan's work as abbot.

common. They had a common dormitory and refectory, and lived as monks, and not like secular clergy. They did not, however, live according to the Rule of St. Benedict, for Dunstan did not know the Rule; nor were they all monks even in name. Many of them were secular clergy; though the monastic element among them must have constantly increased, for the mode of life that Dunstan established would naturally attract men who had the monastic spirit and had taken, or were ready to take, the vows. Under his rule the monastery became a busy school. He taught himself, and many of his pupils became abbots and bishops, and some archbishops. His gentleness to his young scholars was a tradition among boys more than an hundred years later; we have some glimpses of his relations with them. On the death of his brother Wulfric, whom he had made steward of the estates of the monastery, when all the members of the house went to fetch the body to bury it, Dunstan, who waited to receive it, kept one of his boys to stay with him, perhaps to act as his acolyte at the funeral, and they two walked up and down, singing psalms together. The child lived to become a bishop, and told Dunstan's biographer how, as they walked, a stone, which Dunstan believed to have been hurled by an evil spirit, knocked off the abbot's cap. Again, at a later period, when he was on a visit to the monastery at Bath, he had a vision of angels receiving the soul of one of his boys who died that day at Glastonbury. As he sat with his hosts his heart evidently was full of thoughts of the lad whom he had left sick. Full as his life was of business, he did not lose his ecstatic and, as we may perhaps call it, hysterical temperament, and was quick to ascribe ordinary incidents to supernatural agency.

Nor did Dunstan fail to find time for his favourite manual occupations, for to this period of his life we may assign the drawing of himself in the act of adoration before the Saviour, executed probably by his own hand, which still exists in Bodley's Library at Oxford, in a large volume containing part of a grammar and some other works used at Glastonbury. Æthelwold, his disciple and afterwards his prior, was a skilful craftsman, and, like Dunstan, made bells and other church furniture. And we may therefore conclude

His manual occupations.

that along with book-learning, such as the study of the Scriptures and sacred authors, grammar, verse-writing, and the like, the abbot taught his pupils the arts and crafts in which he excelled. Eadred and his mother took deep interest in his work, and on the death of Æthelgar, Bishop of Crediton, in 953, Eadred offered him the bishopric. He refused it on the ground that he was not yet fit for such a charge; indeed, he had not then reached the canonical age. The king asked his mother to invite the abbot to dinner, and see whether she could not coax him into an assent. Dunstan, however, remained firm, and a certain Ælfwold was appointed to the bishopric on his recommendation.

St. Æthelwold at Glastonbury.

What Dunstan did for Glastonbury his disciple Æthelwold did for Abingdon. Æthelwold, a native of Winchester, was somewhat older than his master. His parentage was noble, and when he had reached manhood, which, according to English custom, would be at sixteen, Æthelstan summoned him to his court and made him one of his personal following. From a child he had loved the Scriptures, and the king, who had a regard for him, seeing the bent of his mind, bade him receive clerical orders from Bishop Ælfheah. He put himself under Ælfheah's teaching, and, like Dunstan, no doubt imbibed from him a zeal for monastic life. In time Ælfheah ordained him to the priesthood, along with Dunstan. The good bishop died on March 12, 951, and was succeeded by Ælfsige, a man of a very different stamp, as we shall see later. Æthelwold became one of Dunstan's disciples at Glastonbury, and received the monastic habit at his hands. He studied diligently, and, as has already been said, became a skilful craftsman. To all the convent he set an example of holiness and asceticism, being constant in prayer, in fasting, and in exhorting others to strive after higher things. Dunstan made him the dean, or prior, of the convent, and in the abbot's absence the discipline and the direction of the studies of the house must have devolved on him. In no wise puffed up by office, he used to labour in the garden, and took pleasure in growing fruit and herbs for the dinner of the brethren.

In spite of the reformation which Dunstan had effected at Glastonbury, the life there did not satisfy Æthelwold. He

knew that there were monasteries on the continent more perfectly ordered, and he desired to go abroad to gain instruction in monastic matters as well as greater knowledge of the Scriptures. He was prevented by Eadgifu, who advised the king not to allow his kingdom to be deprived of so good a man, and suggested that he should make him an abbot. Eadred followed her advice, and gave him the monastery of Abingdon. It was then a poor little place, and, in spite of a grant from Æthelstan, only possessed forty hides of land, all the rest of its property having become crown-land. The twelve cells and oratories built by the first abbot in Ine's reign were still standing in the midst of desolation, for the monastery had suffered severely from the Danish invasion in Alfred's time, and had not recovered its prosperity. Its last ruler, who is sometimes called abbot, was a priest named Godescalc, and the family, though its members were called monks, was evidently composed of secular clergy. As soon as Æthelwold had taken possession, he was joined by five members of the Glastonbury fraternity, who are expressly described as clerks. This illustrates the character of Dunstan's reform. While he attracted monks to his house, and gave the habit to those who desired it, he also admitted secular clergy. Eadred at once granted him all the Abingdon land which he held as king, and supplied him with money for the erection of new buildings, and Eadgifu also gave him gifts. He soon gathered together a band of monks, and doubtless ordered his convent on the same lines as Glastonbury, for he was not yet acquainted with the Benedictine Rule. His first step, even before he began to build his church, was to raise conventual buildings; for without a cloister, dormitory, and refectory, with its necessary concomitants of kitchen and bakehouse, there could be no conventual life.

As Abbot of Abingdon.

The king took a lively interest in his work, went down to Abingdon accompanied by several Northumbrian nobles who were at his court, marked out the foundations of the buildings with his own hands, and decided the height of the walls. The account of his visit, told by one of Æthelwold's disciples, affords a curious illustration of the hold which the habit of excessive drink-

Eadred at Abingdon.

ing had upon the men of the time. Eadred, who was delighted with his morning's work, stayed with all his train to dine with the abbot. He called for plenty of mead, and bade shut the doors that no man might shirk his drink. So all day long he and his nobles sat drinking, yet, we are told, the mead shrank not in the barrel more than one hand's-breadth, and when evening came the Northumbrian nobles went back rejoicing, and as "drunk as hogs." Stories of miracles of this kind were perhaps common at the time, for we have one told, though without any notice of excess in drinking, with reference to a visit which Æthelstan paid to his niece Æthelflæd. The value of the Abingdon story lies in the fact that a monk of the house records how Eadred, a religious king, presided over an orgie in Æthelwold's monastery, telling the story not only without a word of blame, but with evident gusto, and, what is stranger still, in the belief that the drink was kept from failing by divine interposition. The national vice of drunkenness, though liable to ecclesiastical punishment in laymen as well as clergy, was evidently lightly regarded. It was not, however, a light matter in the eyes of Dunstan, who, when he had the power, sought to remedy the evil.

The death of Eadred forced Æthelwold to put off the building of his church. By that time he had taken a step which enabled him to effect a more perfect reform of his house than he had at first attempted. How he and others gained knowledge of the Benedictine Rule as it was carried out at Fleury and other great houses, how the Rule became established in England, and minsters were taken from the secular clergy and given to Benedictine monks, will form the main subject of the next chapter.

Coming change.

AUTHORITIES.—In addition to general authorities, those for Dunstan's life are contained in *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, ed. Bp. Stubbs, Rolls series; where the earliest biography is the work of a Saxon, probably a continental Saxon, priest, who was personally acquainted with Dunstan, and wrote a few years after his death. Bishop Stubbs's Introduction to the *Memorials* is full of interest and learning, and has been much used for this and the following chapter. Dunstan's career has also been critically discussed by Robertson, *Historical Essays*, Edinburgh, 1872, and delightfully sketched in Green's *Conquest of England*, London, 1883. Æthelwold's life was written in prose and verse by Wulfstan, one of his disciples, whose works are in Mabillon, *AA.*

SS. O. S. B. sæc. v. t. vii. 596-622, and again by Ælfric the abbot in 1005 (see *Chron. Monast. de Abingdon*, ii., Rolls ser.). No earlier Life of Oda is known than that by Eadmer in *Anglia Sacra*, ii., there ascribed to Osbern, but some biographical notices will be found in the very early *Vita S. Oswaldi* in *Historians of York*, i., Rolls ser. For ecclesiastical laws see Thorpe's *Ancient Laws* and Wilkins's *Concilia*. For the history of Fleury see *Gallia Christiana*, iii.; Mabillon, *Annales Benedict.* iii. 400, Paris, 1703; and Rocher's *Histoire de l'Abbaye de S. Benoît-sur-Loire*, Orleans, 1865.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE NEW BENEDICTINISM

ALTHOUGH Æthelwold had been prevented from going abroad to learn the right mode of monastic living, his heart was set upon reforming his house in accordance with the Rule of St. Benedict as it was taught at Fleury. Accordingly, he sent thither one of his monks named Osgar, that he might learn the Rule and the observances of the abbey, and on his return teach them at Abingdon. This Osgar was one of the five clerks who had come to him from Glastonbury, and seems to have received the habit from him. He was probably sent on his mission as soon as the new abbot had brought his house into order, and we may be sure that on his return Æthelwold lost no time in reforming it after the pattern of Fleury. To Fleury, also, went one who was to be Æthelwold's fellow-worker in the reformation of English monasticism. This was Oswald, a nephew of Archbishop Oda, who had brought him up at Canterbury under the tuition of Frithegode. Oda greatly loved his brother's son, and when he grew up gave him much money. Oswald used his uncle's gifts in purchasing the headship of the Old Minster at Winchester. The minster and its revenues were in the hands of a body of secular clergy, men of high rank; they were rich, and lived in luxury with their wives, and in some cases with women whom they preferred to their wives. Oswald himself for a while lived among them like a young noble, dressed and feasted splendidly, and made himself very popular, for he was good-natured and agreeable. In time, however, his conscience became uneasy; he was led by God

English monks at Fleury.

to desire a higher life, and requested Oda to allow him to go abroad that he might gain spiritual help. Oda greatly rejoiced at his request, and advised him to go to Fleury. He went thither, carrying rich gifts to the convent, and became a monk of the house, which was then under the rule of Abbot Wulfald, a wise and holy man, afterwards Bishop of Chartres. At Fleury, Oswald was distinguished by his asceticism and holiness; he was constant in reading the Scriptures, in prayer, and in singing psalms. He learnt the offices by heart, and his voice, which was at once strong, sweet, and well modulated, added to the beauty of the conventual services. For some years he remained at Fleury, and studied and minutely obeyed the Rule of St. Benedict as it was carried out there.

While Oswald was thus learning the highest form of Benedictinism, events happened which led Dunstan also to make a temporary sojourn in a lately reformed foreign monastery. In the autumn of 955, he received a summons from Eadred to come to him, and bring him his treasure, for the king's long sickness had taken a dangerous turn while he was staying at Frome in Somerset, and he desired to make grants to his friends before he died. As Dunstan rode towards Frome with the keepers of the treasure, his horse fell dead, and he seemed to hear a voice which told him that even then the king had passed away. And so it was, for when he reached Frome he found that Eadred was dead.

Death of Eadred, Nov. 23, 955.

The accession of Eadwig, the elder of the two sons of Eadmund, was followed by the downfall of the party which had been in power during the reign of the last king. The tie that bound the country north of the Thames to Wessex was slight, and there are signs that the influence of Dunstan, though himself a West Saxon, had been regarded with dislike by the nobles of Wessex. Eadwig, a handsome boy of not more than fifteen, was too young to act independently of others, and was under the influence of a lady named Æthelgifu, who designed that he should marry her daughter Ælfgifu, though she was too near akin to the king, either by blood, or by a relationship created by baptism, or by fosterage, for it has been supposed that Æthelgifu may have been the king's foster-mother. In any

A court intrigue.

case the relationship was such as to make the proposed union unlawful. Æthelgifu aimed at attaining a position such as had been held by Eadgifu, and her ambition rendered her useful to the West Saxon party. The political divergence in the kingdom was expressed at court by a woman's intrigue.

The young king was crowned by Oda at Kingston. Before the coronation feast was over, Eadwig left the hall to visit Æthelgifu and her daughter. This was a slight on his assembled nobles which might have had serious consequences. Archbishop Oda proposed that some of the nobles should fetch him back. None of them was willing to incur the risk of offending the king and Æthelgifu, and they asked Dunstan and his kinsman Bishop Cynesige, whom they knew to be fearless men, to undertake the mission. Dunstan and the bishop found the boy amusing himself with the ladies, his crown carelessly thrown on the ground. Indignant at the effort of Æthelgifu to induce the young king to enter into an unlawful marriage, Dunstan spoke sharply to her, and forced Eadwig to return to the hall. Æthelgifu was set on revenge, and was evidently supported by the West Saxon party, for it is said that some of Dunstan's own disciples took part against him.

Eadwig's coronation.

Early in the year 956 he was banished from the kingdom, and all his possessions—including, of course, his abbey—were confiscated. Some of his friends, and among them the king's grandmother Eadgifu, were also despoiled of their possessions. Dunstan left England and found shelter in the Abbey of Blandinium, or St. Peter's, at Ghent. This famous house was founded early in the seventh century, and, after having been despoiled by Charles Martel, had been restored to some prosperity by its abbot, Einhard, the biographer of Charlemagne, who established secular clergy there. In the ninth century it was more than once pillaged by the Northmen, and fell into a state of decay. Count Arnulf, the grandson of Alfred, who during his long reign is said to have restored eighteen great monasteries in his dominions, restored Blandinium in 941, turned out the secular clergy, and gave the house to monks who diligently observed the Benedictine Rule. The relations between England and Flanders, which we have already noticed, account

Dunstan at Blandinium.

for Dunstan's choice of a Flemish abbey as a place of refuge, and as a monastic reformer he was drawn to Blandinium, where Benedictinism was then actively carried out under the direction of Abbot Womar, who was distinguished alike for piety and learning. Nowhere else, probably, could he have seen a better example of the practical fruits that a faithful following of the Benedictine Rule was capable of producing. During his stay in Flanders Count Arnulf treated him as a personal friend.

His recall and consecration.

In the autumn, apparently, of 957, the people north of the Thames revolted from Eadwig, and chose as their king his younger brother Eadgar, a boy of fourteen. Eadgar, or rather his advisers, at once recalled Dunstan, and at a council, held probably at Brentford, decided that he should be made a bishop. He was consecrated by Oda at Canterbury, and received the see of Worcester, which fell vacant on the death of Cynewald about this time. In 958, or 959, he also received the see of London, which he held along with that of Worcester, probably because Canterbury was then vacant, and so there was no archbishop to consecrate a new bishop in the southern province.

The revolt from Eadwig.

The disruption of the kingdom was a political event, and was not part of a struggle between a monastic and a secular party. Oda and the southern bishops, and Æthelwold himself and other abbots remained faithful to Eadwig, who, both before and during the revolt, made grants to monasteries, in the hope of gaining political support. Early biographers and later historians who antedate the ecclesiastical struggle have looked at the disruption in the light of subsequent events. At the same time, it would be going too far to say that there was no connection between the political dispute and the monastic revival. The party which lost power at Eadwig's court was strongly in favour of monasticism, and their opponents must therefore have regarded their zeal with dislike, as part of a system which they wished to overthrow. On the other hand, too, the obligations conferred on Eadgar by the friends of the monks enlisted the power of the crown on the monastic side in the attack afterwards made on the seculars. So far, and so far only, we may connect the two movements. As soon as Dunstan and his friends were

driven from court, Eadwig married Ælfgifu. Oda was not unfaithful to his principles; he separated them because they were too nearly related, and sent Ælfgifu out of the kingdom. The revolt in the North had rendered Eadwig powerless to resist his decree. Æthelgifu's ambitious designs were thwarted, and the Church, in the person of the archbishop, successfully vindicated its right to insist on purity of life even in the most exalted of its members. The story that Ælfgifu was put to a cruel death does not appear till a century and a half later, and is unworthy of credit.

Soon after this, Oda fell sick and sent to Fleury to bid Oswald to come to him. Oswald obeyed his summons, but on his arrival at Dover received news of his uncle's death. Oda died on June 2, probably in 958, though there is some ground for placing his death in the following year. His holy life and his efforts to promote purity caused him to be remembered as "Oda the Good," a title first given him by Dunstan. Oswald, finding his uncle dead, took up his abode with his kinsman Oscytel, Archbishop of York. He accompanied Oscytel when he went to Rome to fetch his pall, paid a short visit to Fleury on his way back, and left there his attendant, Germanus of Winchester, who remained for a time in the monastery. Oscytel introduced Oswald to Dunstan, and they soon became intimate friends. Meanwhile Eadwig appointed Ælfsige of Winchester to succeed Oda at Canterbury. It is said that Ælfsige insulted his predecessor's memory, and the story, though it may not be worth much, suggests that he had been hostile to Oda, and had supported Eadwig. He died among the snows of the Alps, while on his way to Rome to fetch his pall. Brithelm, probably Bishop of Wells, was appointed to succeed him; his nomination must have been among the last acts of Eadwig, who died on October 1, 959.

Death of Abp. Oda, 958 (?).

On the death of Eadwig the disruption of the kingdom came to an end, for Eadgar was received as king by the West Saxons. He at once deprived Brithelm of the see of Canterbury on the pretext of his inability to rule, and sent him back to his former diocese, and conferred the archbishopric on Dunstan, who, in 960, went to Rome and received his pall from John XII.

Dunstan, Abp. of Canterbury 960-988.

On his return in the following year, he consecrated Ælfstan as Bishop of London, and Oswald as Bishop of Worcester, the two sees he had hitherto held himself. At Worcester, Oswald's way of life, which he had learnt and practised at Fleury, excited peculiar admiration, for his cathedral church was served by secular clergy. His influence was soon felt, and many clergy came to him for instruction. He sent to Fleury for Germanus, made him their teacher, and finally founded a house for them at Westbury, in Gloucestershire, and placed Germanus over it, who instructed them in monastic life. Meanwhile, Æthelwold was going on with his work at Abingdon, and rebuilt the church there. With his own hands he made an organ for it, and two bells which he hung along with two larger ones of Dunstan's making. He also made a wheel plated with gold and having little bells hung upon it, which he ordered to be pulled round and round on feast days "to excite the devotion of the people," perhaps the earliest chiming apparatus on record, and other fine and costly things.

With the exception of Westbury, then in course of formation, there were, during the first years of Eadgar's reign, only two monasteries in England, Glastonbury and Abingdon, in which conventual life was carried out. A change was near at hand. A few English monks had gained a knowledge of the monastic rule as it was observed in the reformed monasteries of France and Flanders; they were convinced that this new Benedictinism was the way of righteousness, and that all who opposed it were wicked, and they were determined to vindicate the right of their order to all the monasteries or minsters which had fallen into the hands of the secular clergy. From the young king, whose fortunes had been closely connected with those of some prominent persons in the monastic revival, they would meet with powerful support. The hour for reformation had come, and the man was not wanting. They found a leader in Æthelwold. In tracing the history of the movement it will be convenient to arrange it, as far as possible, according to the part played by each of the principal agents in it.

The impending reformation.

On November 29, the Vigil of St. Andrew, 963, Æthelwold was, by the king's order, consecrated by Dunstan to the see of Winchester. He and Eadgar had, no doubt, already

agreed on a course of action, and he at once obtained leave from the king to expel the secular clergy from his church and replace them by monks. Accordingly he sent for a body of monks from Abingdon, with Osgar at their head, to form a new convent. The clergy of the Old Minster, rich and powerful, married men, used to comfort, and, if their enemies say truly, negligent of their duties, and some of them of evil lives, would neither accept the hardships of the monastic life, nor meekly resign their revenues to a company of poor monks. Eadgar, however, had sent the bishop one of his chief thegns named Wulfstan of Dalham, armed with the royal authority, to prevent resistance. When the monks came to the church door, the clergy within were engaged in divine service. They heard the clerks singing the antiphon for the day, "Servite domino in timore," etc. (Psalm ii. 11), and the words "Apprehendite disciplinam ne pereatis de via justa" seemed of good omen, for had they not come to take the place of men who despised the godly discipline of the Benedictine Rule? "Why do we stand outside the door?" cried Osgar. "Shall we not be of those of whom it is said, 'Blessed be all they that trust in Him'?" They entered the church, and Wulfstan quickly brought matters to a point with the clergy. "Make your choice at once," he said, "either begone, or assume the monastic habit." Resistance was impossible, and, frightened and angry, the clergy left the church in the possession of the triumphant monks. Æthelwold ruled the Old Minster as its abbot, and caused the Rule of St. Benedict to be strictly obeyed there. He was succeeded at Abingdon by Osgar, who, as we have seen, had learnt the Rule at Fleury itself.

Bp. Æthelwold attacks the seculars.

The expulsion of the seculars from the Old Minster excited bitter feelings, and one day, while dining with some guests, Æthelwold believed that he was poisoned. He certainly had a bad pain in his stomach, but we may acquit the seculars of an attempt to murder him, for after lying down for a short time, he was cured, as he believed, through an exercise of faith. With the help of the king's authority he established monks in the New Minster in the place of clerks, and appointed one of his disciples named Æthelgar, afterwards Archbishop of Canter-

His extensive operations.

bury, to be their abbot. He caused the Winchester nuns, who seem to have lived a secular life under the headship of a godly lady named Æthelthryth, to dwell together in the Nunna Minster, and live as mynchens in accordance with the Rule, and he made Æthelthryth their abbess. Later, with the king's authority to back him, he carried his work into the eastern shires, and established monks and appointed abbots at Ely, Peterborough (as Medeshamstead then began to be called), Thorney, in Cambridgeshire, and apparently in many other monasteries both of men and women in East Anglia, as well as Wessex. For he acted as a kind of visitor-general for the king, going from one monastery to another and insisting on strict obedience to the Benedictine Rule. Everywhere the secular clergy had the same hard choice as the clergy of the Old Minster at Winchester: Begone, or become monks. While Æthelwold, the Father of the monks, as he was called, severely punished all transgressions, he was good to those who were submissive to him, he rebuilt the churches of the monasteries which he reformed, gave liberal grants to the convents, and persuaded others to follow his example.

The Concordia Regularis.

It was by Æthelwold's means that the knowledge of the Benedictine Rule became widely spread among English monks. Many of them were too unlearned to read it in Latin, and at the request of Eadgar and his queen Ælfthryth, he translated it into English, and received Sudbourne, in Suffolk, from them as reward for his labour. More minute directions were, however, needed for the daily life of a monastery, and taking the "Capitula" of Benedict of Aniane, which were much studied by the reforming party, as a basis for his work, he composed a monastic rule for the use of the English monks called the "Concordia Regularis" of the English nation. It was sanctioned by the king in a council, to which the epithet "synodal" is applied. This council was held at Winchester, and was probably composed chiefly of monks. Dunstan appears to have been present, to have approved the rule, and to have made an addition to it. While the "Concordia" is chiefly concerned with liturgical matters, it presents some points of general interest. Although founded on the "Capitula" of 817, and on the customs of Fleury and Ghent, it is an independent production, in which the Gallican

model is freely treated with a view to meet the special requirements of those for whom it was written. Its preface is thoroughly national in tone, and the system of monastic government which it propounds, though breathing the spirit of Benedict of Aniane, is suited to the circumstances of the time. The king, who in the tenth century wielded a power in the affairs of State hitherto unknown, was to be supreme in monastic government. The elections of abbots and abbesses, which were to be made according to the Rule, were to be subject to his assent, the elections of bishops whose churches were monastic were to follow the same law, and in all cases of difficulty the superiors of convents were to appeal to the king and queen.

Eadgar and the monks.

Eadgar was not less zealous than Æthelwold himself in the cause of reform. It is asserted that early in life he was distressed at the sight of the ruined monasteries which were to be met with in every part of the kingdom, and vowed to restore them. Be this as it may, his fortunes had been closely linked with those of the party of the monastic reformers; he probably owed his crown to them, and his accession made them powerful. His grandmother Eadgifu recovered her property, Dunstan became his chief adviser, and the house of Æthelstan of East Anglia, which must have been prominent in the revolt from Eadwig, was a mainstay of his throne. His monastic zeal may well have arisen from the circumstances of his past history, and was, we may fairly assume, strengthened by the connection he formed with the East Anglian house. Æthelstan the Half-King had become a monk at Glastonbury, probably about the time of Eadgar's accession. He was succeeded in East Anglia by his eldest son Æthelwold, who married the beautiful Ælfthryth, daughter of Ordgar, afterwards Ealdorman of the West Saxons. On Æthelwold's death his brother Æthelwine—afterwards called the "Friend of God," from his devotion to the monastic cause—succeeded him as ealdorman, and Eadgar married Æthelwold's widow in or about 964, the year in which the king began to turn the clergy out of the monasteries. Eadgar, however, needed little encouragement in this direction, for he entered eagerly into Bishop Æthelwold's plans, secured their success by the exercise of force, is said to have founded, or

refounded, more than forty monasteries, and was certainly a liberal benefactor to many religious houses. Though his acts must have received the approval of the witan, the royal power was at this time so strong that the national assembly probably exercised little, if any, direct control over the king's policy. Both Eadgar and Æthelwold carried on the work of reformation by violent means, and certainly dealt harshly with the secular clergy, who, though enjoying monastic lands and revenues, held them by a sufficiently good title, and had not been guilty of appropriating them.

Oswald and the monks.

Oswald, so far as his personal acts are concerned, seems to have been less hasty and violent in his proceedings. He was probably of gentler character, and may have been unwilling to annoy Ælfhere, the powerful ealdorman of Mercia, who, though related both to Eadgar and Ælfthryth, was probably then, as he certainly was later, opposed to the monastic movement. The reform was carried out in Mercia chiefly under Oswald's direction. Instead of driving the clerks out of St. Peter's, his cathedral church at Worcester, he built another minster, dedicated to St. Mary, in the cathedral burying-ground, attached a monastery to it, and made it his cathedral church. The people followed the bishop, and many of the clergy of St. Peter's, finding their church deserted, accepted the monastic rule, so that a gradual reform seems to have been effected. His personal influence was great. Besides the clerks who had learned from his example and teaching to desire the regular life, and had been planted by him at Westbury, the number of those whom he consecrated as monks became so great that he asked the king to give him a place for them. Eadgar offered him his choice of St. Albans, Ely, or Benfleet in Essex, all evidently then in the hands of seculars. His choice was, however, directed elsewhere.

Foundation of Ramsey Abbey.

One of the king's thegns having died during the Easter meeting of the witan, Eadgar ordered that he should be buried with public honours. Oswald and Æthelwine met at the funeral, and the bishop told Æthelwine that he would gladly buy a site for a monastery. The ealdorman said that there was a site well suited for the purpose which he would freely give him, where three religious men were

already settled. This was Ramsey, then an island in the fens of Huntingdonshire. There the bishop and the ealdorman built a monastery, over which they placed Germanus as prior, for they kept the rule of the house in their own hands and visited it together every year, so that there was no abbot as long as they lived. Under Oswald's care Ramsey became a place of education as well as a pattern of monastic life. He also carried on the reform in his diocese, establishing monks in churches which had before been served by seculars. One of these was Winchcomb, whither he sent Germanus from Ramsey, to be the abbot of the new convent.

On the death of Oswald's kinsman Oscytel, on November 1, 971, the archbishopric of York was conferred on a certain Æthelwold, who is said to have resigned it because he preferred a quiet life. How far this is true it is impossible to say; it is not unlikely Eadgar found that the archbishop-elect was not a man after his own heart, and either superseded him or caused his retirement. He gave the archbishopric to Oswald, who held it along with the bishopric of Worcester. Dunstan is said both to have procured his appointment, and to have arranged that he should hold the two sees together, for fear that the newly made monks of Worcester might return to their secular life. Oswald went to Rome for his pall, which he received from Benedict VI., and returned home in 973. Little is known of his work as archbishop; he did not oust the secular clergy from his cathedral church, nor is there any evidence that he introduced Benedictinism in the North. He probably resided chiefly at Worcester, and continued his work of reform in that diocese.

Oswald, Abp. of York, 972-992.

Dunstan's part in the Benedictine reform has so far been misunderstood, that he has even been represented as carrying on a relentless war against the married clergy. In the first place, the reform had nothing to do with the married clergy as such; it simply concerned the clergy who were living on estates and serving churches which were claimed for the monks. That these clergy were generally married was an aggravation of their position as living on monastic endowments, as was the fact that some of them led immoral lives. They were not, however, ejected for either

Dunstan and the reform.

of these reasons, but because their churches and lands were wanted for men who conformed to the newly imported Benedictine system. Again, Dunstan took little or no active share in the ejection of clerks from the monasteries: he had not expelled them from his cathedral church of Worcester, for Oswald had found them there; nor did he expel them from Christ Church, Canterbury, for they were expelled by one of his successors. So far as this matter is concerned, while Eadgar was in full sympathy with Æthelwold, Dunstan probably approved of the more prudent action of his friend Oswald. The line which he followed was no doubt mainly the result of his moderate temperament, perhaps to some extent of his occupation in affairs of State, and possibly also of the influence of the more practical character of Flemish monasticism, with which he had personally come in contact, as compared with the severer spirit of Fleury. Oswald, though a disciple of Fleury, would naturally be inclined to the moderate policy of his uncle's friend. Yet though a distinction may be drawn between the methods pursued by Eadgar, Æthelwold, Dunstan, and Oswald, all four had the same end in view, for Dunstan upheld the reform by his counsel and authority.

Papal approval.

The victory of the monks must have been known, and would, of course, be approved, at Rome. Englishmen were, however, so much in the habit of managing their own affairs that it is not surprising to find little, if any, notice of papal action in the matter. One letter, indeed, there is of John XIII., which, if it is genuine, is an answer to an application from the king and Dunstan with reference to the Old Minster. In reply, the pope authorises Æthelwold to introduce monks, who were to elect their own head, and orders that no clerk should for the future be made ruler of the church of Winchester.

Dunstan's ecclesiastical reforms.

Before attempting to ascertain the effects produced by the work of the monastic reformers, we must first, for the sake of clearness, occupy ourselves with some matters which belong to the period of change. Although in the expulsion of the seculars Dunstan's figure stands somewhat in the background, he was busy both in ecclesiastical and civil matters. The ecclesiastical laws and canons of

Eadgar's reign must have been his work. The laws relating to the Church are concerned with the payment of church-scots, tithes, and Peter's pence, and with the observance of festivals and fasts. A decided advance in legislation is apparent in them, for they lay down the determination of tithes. Generally all tithes were to be paid to the "old minster" or head church of the district, that is, the church, or its representative, from which the Gospel first spread over a district. But the thegn who had on his estate a church with a burying-ground was by Eadgar's law to give a third part of his tithe to it; if the church had no burying-ground, he was to give his tithe to the "old minster," and pay the priest out of his own pocket.

The canons of the reign, sixty-seven in number, are concerned with spiritual matters, such as the conduct of priests, the duties of the laity, the care and reverence due to churches, and the like. Many are copied from earlier collections. One, which is worth notice, marks the completeness of the parochial system. No priest was to deprive another of what pertained to his "shrift-shire." The duty of celibacy seems hinted at in the command that no priest should forsake his church, but hold it as his lawful spouse. Concubinage and excess are forbidden to the laity. At church-wakes men were to pray heartily, and there was to be no drinking or folly. Priests were specially warned against excess. As a means of checking drunkenness, Dunstan, it is said, ordered that drinking-cups should be fitted with pegs, so that when drinking healths each man might be able to see how much he was taking. No man unfasting was to taste of the housel, unless in extreme sickness, and a priest was always to have the housel ready for those who might need it. Specially characteristic of Dunstan, that lover of education and handicrafts, are the commands that no priest receive another's scholar without leave of his earlier teacher; that every priest, besides book-learning, should learn a handicraft, that all should teach handicrafts to their scholars, and that no learned priest should despise one less learned, but try to teach him better.

Canons.

Dunstan's work was not confined to Church matters. As the king's chief adviser, he must have had a large share in Eadgar's secular legislation, which assured equal justice to all, rich and poor alike, and developed and defined the judicial

system and the means of securing peace and good order. In a supplement to his laws, published in a time of plague, Eadgar says that he and his witan considered that the calamity was a punishment for the neglect of God's dues. Wherefore, he continues, "I and the archbishop command" that tithes and other dues be paid without grudging. Then follow some ordinances declaring that the Danes should live under their own laws, and giving equal protection to the property of English, Danes, and Britons. Considering Dunstan's place in the State, we may fairly believe that the enlightened policy which made Eadgar's reign a period of almost unbroken peace and unprecedented glory was in no small measure due to his counsel.

His civil policy.

The glories of the reign reached their climax in the coronation of the king in the abbey church of Bath, on Whitsunday, May 11, 973. Eadgar had, probably, put off his hallowing and coronation as king of the whole nation until he should reach some point in his reign which would invest the ceremony with peculiar significance. The imperial coronation of Otto the Great, with whom Eadgar maintained friendly relations, may have excited the king to some sort of imitation, and he almost certainly sought the pope's approval of the step. For Oswald's journey to Rome to fetch his pall was undertaken by the king's command, and was partly on the king's business; he brought back to the king the pope's blessing, and the coronation followed immediately on his return. The rite, which was performed with much splendour, is virtually the same as that observed ever since at the consecration and coronation of English sovereigns. The coronation oath was administered by Dunstan; the king promised to protect God's Church and people, to put down wrong and robbery, and to rule with justice and mercy. Oswald and other bishops assisted at the ceremony.

The coronation of Eadgar.

A story which connects the long delay in the coronation with a penance of seven years, imposed by Dunstan on the king for the seduction of a nun, is untrue, but certainly contains elements of truth. In spite of his zeal for Benedictinism, Eadgar was a man of impure life. Some verses inserted in the Saxon Chronicle record how he allowed the Danes and men of other races, who were

His alleged penance.

attracted to his court by his liberal policy, to infect it with their immorality. Before his marriage with Ælfthryth, he had wedded, probably without marrying, a lady named Æthelflæd the Fair, or "the Duck," as she was called, and by her had a son named Eadward. She may have died, or Eadgar may have dissolved the union at the end of the year. Then, it is said, and there is no reason to doubt the story, that he formed a connection with a lady named Wulftrud who had assumed the veil at Wilton, though without taking the vows. She bore him a daughter in, or about, 962, and at the end of the year left him of her own accord, and went back to Wilton, taking her child, Eadgyth, with her. She became Abbess of Wilton, and there brought up her daughter, who took the vows and was conspicuous for her holiness of life. St. Edith. Nevertheless, Eadgyth was splendid in her attire and dressed as a king's daughter. Æthelwold reproved her for dressing in a fashion unbecoming a bride of Christ, and she replied that her thoughts were as much with God as though she wore goat's skin, and that her Lord regarded the heart rather than raiment. Her monastic biographer of the next century exhibits the poverty of his soul by explaining that she wore a hair-shirt. She died at Wilton on September 16, 984, in her twenty-third year, and held a place in the calendar as St. Edith.

It will be seen by the dates that Eadgar's connection with Wulftrud had nothing to do with the delay of his coronation. Yet it is probable enough that he did some penance for it, for Dunstan was not the man to regard a scandal lightly because the transgressor happened to be powerful. Dunstan's just severity. Adelard of Blandinium, who wrote a Life of Dunstan about twenty years after he died, tells us that he excommunicated a noble for forming an unlawful marriage. The man went to Rome and obtained a letter from the pope on his behalf, but Dunstan refused to pay any attention to it.

Eadgar died on July 8, 975, and was buried by Dunstan at Glastonbury. His widow Ælfthryth attempted to set aside his elder son Eadward, whom he had by Æthelflæd "the Duck," in favour of his younger brother, her own son, Æthelred. The anti-monastic movement. Her attempt, though supported by some of the nobles, failed through the opposition of the

advisers of the late king, headed by the archbishops, Dunstan and Oswald. Eadward was elected by the majority of the witan, and was crowned by Dunstan at Kingston. Eadgar's death was immediately followed by an anti-monastic reaction, which, though apparently unconnected with the dispute as to the succession, had a political and a social as well as an ecclesiastical bearing. It was a Mercian movement, and was headed by Ælfhere, the Mercian ealdorman. It was, doubtless, in a measure due to the dislike which some of the nobles must have felt at the displacement of the well-born and dignified minster-clergy by monks drawn from all classes of the people. Ælfhere drove out the monks from the monasteries of Mercia, and replaced them by the old secular clergy, who returned with their wives. So Germanus had to leave his abbey at Winchcomb and went again to Fleury, while his monks returned to Ramsey, their old home.

The movement found supporters in East Anglia; but there the monks had powerful defenders. Æthelwine was the head of their party, and by his vigorous action in defence of their rights earned his nickname the "Friend of God." By his side stood his brother Ælfwold, a man of fiercer mood, and the East Saxon ealdorman Brihtnoth, afterwards famous in battle. These nobles raised their troops, and prepared to defend the East Anglian monasteries by force of arms. A civil war seemed imminent, and on April 30, 977, an assembly of the witan was held at Kirtlington, in Oxfordshire,[1] to make peace. Æthelwine, Ælfwold, and Brihtnoth spoke boldly in defence of the monks; there was much opposition, and Sideman, Bishop of Crediton, died suddenly during the assembly, probably from a fit brought on by excitement. Ælfwold's anger was roused by the speech of a man who claimed one of the possessions of Peterborough, and he afterwards caused him to be assassinated. Uneasy at his violent act, he went to Winchester, and appeared barefoot as a penitent before Æthelwold, but was received as a champion

The struggle.

[1] This assembly is treated in the text as the same as that of which we have an account in the *Vita Oswaldi*, p. 446. Florence of Worcester says that it was held at Kirtling in East Anglia, *i.e.* in Cambridgeshire. Was he misled by the preponderance of the East Anglian element in the gemot? The fact that Sideman was buried at Abingdon confirms the *Chronicle* (MS. B., ed. Plummer), which places the assembly at Kirtlington.

of the Church. The ealdormen and their party were strong enough to prevent an attack on Ramsey and the other East Anglian monasteries. Another meeting of the witan at Calne, in Wiltshire, also debated the monastic question. It was held in an upper room, and was interrupted by the giving way of the floor. All fell to the room below, some being killed and others injured, except Dunstan, who saved himself by catching hold of a beam. A third meeting was held at Amesbury.

The murder of the young king, possibly with the cognisance of his step-mother, Ælfthryth, on March 18, 978, had no direct connection with the ecclesiastical struggle. The fact that Eadward's kinsmen would not avenge his death seems to point to a conspiracy among the West Saxon nobles, formed, probably, in order to overthrow the Mercian influence at court. And, as the ecclesiastical and civil politics of the time were closely related, the murder no doubt had a bearing on the monastic struggle, though there is no evidence that it was in any way directly connected with it. Ælfhere, the Mercian ealdorman, translated the king's body from Wareham, where it had been buried without state, to an honourable resting-place in the minster of Shaftesbury. It is said that Dunstan joined Ælfhere in the translation. If this assertion was trustworthy, it would weigh heavily against the probability that the murder was the result of political motives. As, however, it rests solely on a twelfth-century authority, it cannot be held of much account. The part taken by Dunstan and Oswald at Eadward's election, and, still more, the retirement of Dunstan, and the overthrow of his influence on Æthelred's accession, seem conclusive evidence that the murder had no direct connection with the ecclesiastical struggle. The men who held power during the early years of Æthelred's reign were enemies of the Church. The king's murder may then be attributed to a West Saxon conspiracy, in which Ælfthryth, as later historians believed, may have taken some part in order to forward her son's accession, though her guilt is not asserted by any known authority till at least a century after the event. Eadward's innocence and cruel murder gave him a place which he still holds in the calendar of our Church. The struggle between the seculars and regulars went on in the next reign, though the danger of civil war passed away. The regulars constantly

gained ground, and the temporary success of the secular clergy, which was probably confined to Mercia, could scarcely have lasted beyond the lifetime of Ælfhere, who died in 983.

Dunstan crowned Æthelred the Unready (without rede or counsel) at Kingston, on Sunday, April 14, 978, and, as though foreseeing the sort of king that the boy would prove to be, enforced the usual promises of good government which he called upon him to make, by a short discourse upon them. As archbishop he was bound to give effect to the election of the witan, but he probably acted with a heavy heart. His influence at court seems to have been over; he retired from politics, and spent the rest of his life in the discharge of his spiritual duties. As in his earlier days, he taught all that came to him, making Canterbury a seat of education and literary activity. He preached constantly, and crowds gathered to hear him, so that it is said that his light shone over all the land. His popularity as a preacher was, no doubt, partly due to the passionate character of his piety; for, like St. Cuthbert, he had the gift of tears, which was in those days regarded as a mark of special unction. Much of his time was given to prayer both in church and in private. Yet his days were full of work; and while Æthelwold may, according to the ideas of the time, be regarded as a pattern of asceticism, Dunstan surely stands for all time as a pattern of practical holiness.

Dunstan's later days.

He set himself to improve the spiritual condition of the people by building, or restoring, and dedicating churches, and provided for the interests of his successors by building houses on the various estates of his see. The early hours of the morning he devoted to the correction of the books of the Christ Church library. Many of the manuscripts on which he worked were doubtless service-books, for as a skilled musician he took a lively interest in the music of his church. Two pieces of church music were believed to have been dictated to him by angels. One of them, his canticle *Kyrie rex splendens*, said to be represented by the canticle appointed, according to the use of Sarum, to be sung on his day, belongs to an earlier, the other, *O rex gentium dominator omnium*, to this later period of his life. Manifold business occupied his days; he heard and

His daily life.

determined suits, pacified quarrels, upheld the cause of the widow, the fatherless, and the stranger in their distress, and as an ecclesiastical judge laboured to promote purity by annulling all unlawful marriages. At night, he loved to visit secretly the holy places of Canterbury, and offer his prayers and praises to God, where his first predecessor St. Augustine had preached, and where Æthelbert and Bertha lay at rest. Some time he found for the practice of the arts and crafts in which he excelled, and for social intercourse with scholars and churchmen, monks and clerks, of his own and of other lands. Many scholars from France and Flanders came to England in these his last years, and all looked to him as their patron and director. As he sat with his younger friends and disciples, the gray-headed archbishop would tell them stories of his eventful life, of the kings, statesmen, bishops, and holy ladies with whom he had been associated, or would relate, never without tears, the death of Eadmund of East Anglia, as he had heard it when a child, from an aged man who had been the king's armour-bearer, and had seen him suffer martyrdom for Christ's sake.

Once the archbishop's days of quiet labour were disturbed. The young king, at the suggestion of unworthy favourites, appropriated some lands belonging to the Church. Ælfstan, Bishop of Rochester, appears to have resisted one of these acts of spoliation, and Æthelred led a force, which he might have employed more creditably in defending his kingdom from invasion, to besiege the bishop in Rochester. He found the city prepared to resist him, and wasted the lands of the bishopric. Dunstan called upon him to cease from injuring the Church of St. Andrew, and threatened him with the anger of the Apostle. Æthelred despised his warning, and Dunstan, as patron and guardian of the see, sent him a hundred pounds to buy him off. The unkingly king accepted the bribe and withdrew his troops. Two years later, in 988, Dunstan finished his course. On Ascension Day, May 17, he celebrated mass for the last time, and thrice during the service addressed the people, preaching "as he had never preached before." He dined with his friends and clergy, and then rested awhile, as he was wont to do in summer. While he slept he was seized with illness. Early in the morning of

His death.

Saturday, the 19th, he sent for the brethren of his church, and in their presence received the last sacrament. Then he thanked God, and said, "He hath made His wonderful works to be remembered: The Lord is gracious and full of compassion. He hath given meat unto them that fear Him" (Psalm cxi. 4, 5), and with the last words upon his lips he fell asleep. The love and gratitude of the English Church and nation kept his memory fresh and fragrant, and a few years after his death, men sought his intercession for England in a prayer which is still extant. He remained the most famous saint of our Church until the martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury turned the flow of popular devotion in another, though not a worthier, direction.

Dunstan's successor at Canterbury was Æthelgar, one of his pupils at Glastonbury, who had gone with Æthelwold to Abingdon, and had been appointed by him abbot of the New Minster at Winchester on the ejection of the secular clergy. He had been consecrated to the see of Selsey in 980. He was a learned and a liberal man, and, though one of Æthelwold's monks, appears to have approved of Dunstan's more moderate policy, for he did not expel the seculars from his church either at Selsey or Canterbury. He went to Rome for his pall, visiting St. Bertin's Abbey, both on his way thither and on his return journey. He died on February 13, 990. The next archbishop was another of Dunstan's scholars, named Sigeric, whom he caused to be elected Abbot of St. Augustine's. He was a learned and pious man, and had been consecrated by Dunstan to the bishopric of Wiltshire in 985. On his promotion to Canterbury, in 990, he obtained his pall from John XV. A curious record of his journey back from Rome has been preserved: it tells us how the archbishop visited no fewer than fifteen churches on the first day of his stay at Rome, and how, after leaving the city, he had a journey of seventy-nine stages before he embarked for England. It is said that on his return he expelled the secular clergy from Christ Church, where they had been allowed to remain, both by Dunstan and Æthelgar. He probably decreed their expulsion, but died before he could carry it out, for his successor is also said to have expelled them

His immediate successors.

Æthelwold had been called away before Dunstan's death. He did much educational work in his later years. One of his Winchester monks tells us that he loved to teach the young men and boys of his house to translate Latin books into English, to instruct them in grammar and prosody, and to encourage them in their studies with cheery words. He was also busily completing his new church, on which, in the true spirit of St. Benedict, he made his monks work along with the artisans and labourers. It was dedicated on October 20, 980. That was a great day. Ten years before, the bishop had translated the bones of his predecessor St. Swithun, and since that time had preached the cult of the saint, and had spread abroad the fame of two other holy bishops of Winchester, Frithestan and Beornstan, who were also accepted as saints. The crowd of miracles which followed the translation of St. Swithun excited universal reverence, and as such events naturally called forth the liberality of the faithful, must have materially aided the bishop in building his church. The dedication was regarded as an event of no small national importance. Æthelred and his ealdormen and other great men came from Andover, where he was holding a witenagemot. Next after the king—so an eyewitness records—walked Archbishop Dunstan "with his snowy hair and angelic face"; then came Æthelwold followed by eight other bishops, and after them the lay nobles of the realm, including many of the anti-monastic party of the late reign, who had become "sheep instead of wolves." Much as Æthelwold loved to adorn his church, he once in a time of terrible famine sold all its ornaments of gold and silver to feed the poor, saying that men made after the image of God, and redeemed with the precious blood of Christ, were worth more than bits of metal.

Æthelwold's later days.

For many years he suffered grievously from ill-health, which was aggravated by his asceticism, for until his last illness he would never eat either meat or fowl, save once when Dunstan with characteristic good sense and kindness of heart prevailed on him to do so for three months. Four years after the dedication of his church he died at Beddington in Surrey, on August 1, 984. He was succeeded by Ælfheah, or Godwine, better known as St.

His death.

Elphege, who was destined to be the first martyred Archbishop of Canterbury. Ælfheah had entered the religious life at Deerhurst in Gloucestershire, where he was distinguished by his holiness and asceticism. He became Abbot of Bath, and after some difficulty reformed the convent and enforced obedience to the Benedictine Rule. He was consecrated to the see of Winchester on October 19. The work which St. Æthelwold had done at Winchester was safe in his hands.

Abp. Oswald and the ealdorman Æthelwine, *d.* 992.

In November 991, Archbishop Oswald visited Ramsey in company with his friend and co-founder, the ealdorman Æthelwine. On the accession of Æthelred he had brought Germanus, who had been forced to leave his abbey at Winchcomb, back to Ramsey, and had again made him prior. He came this time to dedicate the church, which had been rebuilt after the cracking of the central tower, and to bid farewell to his monks, for he knew that his end was near. He told them that after his death they were to choose an abbot from their own convent. He died on February 29, 992, and was buried in St. Mary's, which he had built to be his cathedral church instead of the Old Minster, St. Peter's. On his death, Ealdulf, Abbot of Peterborough, one of Æthelwold's disciples, was chosen to succeed him at York. The course adopted by Dunstan and Oswald for a temporary reason was unfortunately made a precedent, and Ealdulf held the bishopric of Worcester along with his archbishopric. He probably spent more of his time among his monks at Worcester than among the secular clergy at York, and on his death in 1002 he was, like his predecessor, buried at Worcester. Æthelwine did not long survive his friend Oswald; he died on April 24 of the same year, and was buried at Ramsey.

AUTHORITIES.—In addition to the general authorities, see the *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, Wulfstan's *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, the early *Vita S. Oswaldi*, the *Chron. de Abingdon*, Thorpe's *Ancient Laws*, Kemble's *Codex Dipl.*, and Robertson's *Historical Essays* as in the authorities for last chapter. Also *Historia Abbatiæ Rameseiensis*, Rolls series, which, though of the twelfth century, is founded on genuine traditions and probably earlier records, and is of great value, and Goscelin's *Vita S. Eadgithæ*, ap. Mabillon, *AA. SS. O. S. B.* sæc. v. 623. The "Concordia Regularis" is in the new *Monasticon*, vol. i.; for its authorship and character, see an able paper by Miss M. Bateson in *English Historical Review* (Oct. 1894), ix. 690, on "Rules for Monks and Canons."

CHAPTER XIX

ENERGY

With the death of Æthelwine the last of the early leaders of the monastic revival passed away. It may therefore be taken as a point at which we may pause to review the character and effects of the movement. Such a review, together with some notice of the invasions which weakened the new energy of the Church and ushered in a period of exhaustion, will be attempted in this chapter.

Plan of chapter.

The revival of monasticism by Dunstan at Glastonbury and Æthelwold at Abingdon had been followed by a reformation mainly on the lines of the Benedictinism of Fleury. In carrying out this reformation, the monastic party claimed the minsters which had in times past been served by men of the religious order, and had fallen into the hands of the secular clergy. At first sight, it would seem that they claimed no more than their own. There is, however, something to be said on the other side. It must be remembered that their claims did not stop there, for they deprived the clergy of possessions which had been granted to the minsters when in secular hands. Nor was the monasticism of those who took the place of the seculars the same as that of the earlier monks. It was different in spirit—it was exclusive, self-asserting, and apt to arrogate to itself a monopoly of holiness. And it was different in outward character, for, as has already been pointed out, with the exception of the convents which for a short time carried out, more or less strictly, the practices introduced by Wilfrith and Benedict Biscop, English monks knew so little of the Benedictine Rule that in time it was

The claims of the monastic party.

forgotten altogether. A claim can scarcely be held to be strongly founded which rests on a state of things long gone by, and overset by the will of the nation, whether expressed by legislation, or, as in this case, by gradual and progressive change. On the other hand, the expulsion of the clerks from the minsters and the establishment of monks in their place must be regarded as national acts; they were brought about by bishops appointed in the witenagemot and by a king elected by the nation, and acting with the formal approval of the national assembly. Much hardship was inflicted on individuals, and many besides those personally concerned were opposed to the change. So much, however, may be said of almost every radical change, and as the monastic party proved the stronger, the nation must be held to have approved the monastic claims.

Civilly, the reform of the minsters was a sign of the increase of the power of the crown, and was unpopular among certain of the great nobles. It injured the dignified clergy, as we may call them, who were, as a class, probably connected with the nobles, for the benefit of monks drawn from all classes. It destroyed the power of the nobles over the minster lands, and, according to the scheme of Eadgar and Æthelwold, it placed the new monastic landowners under the king's special protection and brought them into intimate relations with him. The anti-monastic movement, headed by Ælfhere of Mercia, had its origin, there is reason to believe, rather in social and political, than in ecclesiastical or religious, motives. This, however, is a side of the question which we must leave here to pass on to matters more closely connected with our subject.

Their civil aspect.

For our purposes, the results of the monastic revival as a whole may conveniently be arranged according to the influence which it exercised (1) on ecclesiastical institutions, (2) on national morality, (3) on the increase of religion, (4) on education, literature, and the intercourse with foreign churchmen and scholars, and (5) on the development of the arts as applied to religion.

The results of the monastic revival.

(1) The monastic revival had an important bearing on the constitution of many of the cathedral minsters. We have seen how bishops' churches originally served by monks

gradually fell into the hands of the bishops' clerks. The change seemed so monstrous to monks of later days that they sought to account for it in one case or another by some special catastrophe. So it was believed that at Christ Church the seculars gained possession of the minster in the time of Archbishop Ceolnoth (833-870), because a plague carried off all the monks except five, and the archbishop made his clerks and some of the clergy of the town supply their place. While the story may have a foundation of fact, it will be remembered that a change in the character of the Church had begun in the time of Wulfred. Ecclesiastical institutions.

The Benedictine party ousted the seculars from certain episcopal churches, and made them monastic. This change went on until about half the cathedral churches of England were in the hands of monks. By the time of the Norman Conquest, however, it had not been carried so far. The metropolitan church of Canterbury was avowedly monastic, but the new congregation was scattered almost as soon as it had been formed, and, for sixty years before the Conquest, Christ Church was, as apparently it had been in earlier times, a minster of a mixed character. The Old Minster, at Winchester, and the new cathedral church at Worcester remained wholly monastic, and, in 998, the clerks of the episcopal church at Crediton were compelled to give place to monks. In the North, the Church of St. Cuthbert, though retaining monastic traditions, was in fact before 1066 as much secular as monastic. In a monastic cathedral the church was served by monks, and the bishop was the abbot of the cathedral monastery and was in theory elected by the convent. It was an institution almost peculiar to this country. The results of the system were partly good and partly evil. While it checked the abuse of Church property and offices arising from family interests, it led to perpetual quarrels between the bishop and his monastery, which hindered episcopal usefulness, and were a fruitful source of appeals to Rome. These matters, however, belong to a later period of the history of our Church. Monastic cathedrals.

The monastic system devised by Æthelwold was modelled on that of Benedict of Aniane. It made the king the virtual ruler of the monasteries by providing that in all cases of difficulty the superiors should consult the king, and appear in

person before him or the queen. This system perished at Eadgar's death. Each convent was left to rule itself, save for the rights of the diocesan, which, so far at least as the right of visitation was concerned, were often unwillingly admitted, and in some cases evaded. The provision for the election of the bishops of monastic churches was apparently also set aside. An election of a bishop by a monastic chapter seems to have been neither more nor less effectual than an election by a secular chapter. On the other hand, in non-cathedral monasteries the election of a superior, though sometimes directed by royal appointment, seems to have not infrequently been decided by the votes of the convent, the bishop of the diocese giving his approval by conferring the benediction according to the Benedictine Rule.

Æthelwold's monastic system.

(2) Morally, the effects of the monastic revival were undoubtedly good. The efforts of Oda and Dunstan in the cause of purity, and the examples and teaching of men who voluntarily embraced, and rigidly followed, a life of war against the flesh, bore much fruit. This is evident both in the legislation of Æthelred's reign, and in what we know of the state of society in the reign of the Confessor. The newly awakened moral sense of the nation is illustrated by efforts to put a stop to the marriage of priests, and to induce canons, as the clergy of the non-monastic minsters are styled in England by the end of the tenth century, to live according to canonical rule. By this was meant the Rule of Bishop Chrodegang, of which something has already been said, as enlarged by a council held at Aix-la-Chapelle by Lewis the Pious in 817.

Morals.

In the reign of Æthelred vigorous protests were made against the marriage of priests. By the laws of 1008, "all the servants of God, bishops and abbots, monks and mynchens, priests and nuns," were bidden to live according to their rule; and, again, in a body of laws made at Enham, priests were ordered to live chastely, for it was not lawful for them to have wives. In certain canons written for Wulfsige, Bishop of Sherborne, by an abbot named Ælfric, of whom we shall hear more, great stress is laid on the unlawfulness of priests' marriages. Ælfric further insists on this point in a pastoral epistle that he wrote for Wulfstan, who succeeded Ealdulf as Archbishop of York and Bishop of Worcester in

Marriage of priests.

1003. Canons are commanded by the laws of Æthelred to use a common dormitory and refectory. Yet no attempt was made to enforce celibacy. The only civil penalty attached to a priest's marriage was a diminution of his legal status. And the bishops took no decisive action in the matter, for Ælfric, addressing the married priests in Wulfstan's name, says, "We cannot now forcibly compel you to chastity, but we nevertheless admonish you to hold to it." English priests, however, turned a deaf ear to these admonitions. Nor did canons generally use a common dormitory and refectory. The canonical rule was indeed enforced in three episcopal, and two or three other minsters before the Conquest, but it was soon more or less abandoned, and all attempts of the same kind ended in failure.

(3) The new energy imparted to the Church by the monastic revival led to the restoration of minsters and other churches which had been destroyed, wholly or in part, by the Danes. East Anglia and the Midlands again received the means of Christian worship. The increase of spiritual life in the Church generally is illustrated by a renewal of missionary zeal, a matter which must be deferred for the present, and by the efforts that were made for the religious instruction of the people. Dunstan was, as we have seen, a great preacher. Oswald was also diligent in preaching, for, as his biographer says, "he loved the common people," and Æthelwold, we are told, preached "everywhere," his popularity as a preacher being heightened by the interest roused by the miracles which were believed to have followed the translation of St. Swithun. In the canons of Eadgar's reign, which may be attributed to Dunstan's influence, priests are commanded to preach every Sunday, and their duty in this respect was also urged upon them by Ælfric. Religion.

They were not left to their own devices in this matter; books of English homilies were written for their use. We must not suppose that preaching had altogether been neglected since the Danish wars. It is probable that English homilies were written in Alfred's time, for Ælfric says that, when he composed his homilies, there were several in existence in English, as well as Latin, which contained error. Yet the later part of the tenth, and the early years of Books of homilies.

the eleventh century certainly saw a remarkable outburst of homiletic literature written in the language of the people, which we may consider, mainly at least, as a fruit of Æthelwold's teaching. One extant collection called the "Blickling Homilies" belongs to an earlier date. It was re-edited in 971, and one of the sermons contains a reference to the approaching end of the world, which in England, as well as in Western Christendom generally, was expected at the beginning of the year 1000. Another collection is the work of a certain Wulfstan, who is often, though not for any convincing reason, identified with Wulfstan, Archbishop of York. It seems to have been edited more than once, for, though it refers to the expected end of the world, two extant copies of it are dated later than 1000.

Two books, each containing forty homilies, were written by Abbot Ælfric. This prolific writer was trained by Æthelwold in the Old Minster, where, besides other literary work, he wrote his homilies between the years 985 and 990, for, in the preface to the first edition of them, he dedicates them to Archbishop Sigeric. He considered that forty of his homilies were enough for a year's preaching, but in the preface to a later edition says that he has added five more at the request of Æthelweard, the West Saxon ealdorman. Æthelweard, with whom Ælfric was on terms of friendship, was a member of the royal house, and the author of an extant Latin chronicle. Ælfric's second preface must also have been written before the year 1000. By that time he had been appointed Abbot of Cerne, in Dorsetshire, by Bishop Ælfheah, at the request of Æthelweard's son Æthelmær, who was apparently a kinsman of Ælflæd, the wife of Brihtnoth, one of the champions of the monks in East Anglia. Æthelmær, who, like his father, was a supporter of the monks, founded a monastery at Eynsham, near Oxford, in 1005. Ælfric appears to have been the first abbot of this house, for in some constitutions that he wrote for the monks of Eynsham he speaks of himself as living among them.[1] His homilies were, he says, compiled from Latin works

Ælfric's homilies.

[1] He has been confused with at least three other churchmen of the same name—Ælfric, Abp. of Canterbury (*d.* 1005); Ælfric Puttoc, Abp. of York (*d.* 1051); and an Ælfric, Abbot of Malmesbury. He probably died Abbot of Eynsham.

and translated freely into English. In common with other English expositors, he was much addicted to allegorical interpretation, which from Origen's time prevailed in the Church generally. In a homily on the "Feeding of the Five Thousand" he interprets the five loaves as signifying the five Books of Moses, and the lad who carried them and did not eat them, as signifying the Jewish people, who read the books, and knew not their meaning until Christ came and opened them. At the same time, he is often practical enough, as in a homily for Advent Sunday, where he says: "We are ever seen by God without and within, wherefore every one that would not be condemned should take special care that he transgress not God's commandments by over-eating and drunkenness. . . . Drunkenness is a death-bearing thing and the source of lasciviousness."

The homily for Easter Day.

One of Ælfric's homilies, "On the Sacrifice; for Easter Day," is famous from the use that has been made of it in theological controversy. Protestant divines have appealed to it as a proof that the "Anglo-Saxon" Church held a doctrine on the Eucharist opposed to that of the Roman Catholic Church, while Roman Catholics have contended that Ælfric's words are not inconsistent with Tridentine dogma.

Quotations from the homily.

In this homily Ælfric says: "Now certain men have often asked, and yet do ask, how the bread that is prepared from corn and baked by fire's heat can be changed into Christ's body, or that wine which is wrung from many berries can by blessing be changed into the Lord's blood. Now we say to such, that some things are said of Christ through a figure, and others literally. It is a true and certain thing that Christ was born of a maiden, and of His own will suffered death. . . . He is called bread through a figure, and lamb, and lion, and what else. . . . But yet, according to true nature, Christ is neither bread, nor a lamb, nor a lion. . . . The bread and the wine which are hallowed through the priests' mass appear one thing to men's understandings outwardly, and another to believing minds inwardly. . . . Great is the difference between the invisible might of the holy housel, and the visible appearance of its own nature. By nature it is corruptible bread and corruptible wine, and

is by the power of the divine word truly Christ's body and blood; not, however, bodily but spiritually. Great is the difference between the body in which Christ suffered, and the body which is hallowed for housel. The body soothly in which Christ suffered was born of Mary's flesh, with blood and with bones . . . and His ghostly body, which we call housel, is gathered of many corns, without blood and bones, limbless and soulless, and therefore nothing therein is to be understood bodily, but all is to be understood spiritually. . . . This mystery is a pledge and symbol; Christ's body is truth. This pledge we hold mystically until we come to the truth, and then will this pledge be ended. Soothly it is, as we said before, Christ's body and blood, not bodily, but spiritually. Ye are not to ask how it is done, but to hold to your belief that it is so done." He proceeds to quote two legends, one taken from the *Vitæ Patrum*, in which two monks saw upon the altar a child in place of the host—an angel divided the child's body, and its blood was poured into a chalice; the other, a miracle of a like kind.

Ælfric's opinions.

Ælfric also speaks elsewhere on this subject in the same strain as in his Easter homily. It is possible to reconcile his words with the present teaching of Rome; his expressions are loose and unphilosophical, and therefore capable of being interpreted according to demand. Yet, it will scarcely be denied that their spirit, and indeed the obvious interpretation of them, are contrary to the doctrine of transubstantiation. At the same time, the contention that they represent the teaching of the Church of England before the Conquest, can scarcely be maintained in the face of passages to be found in the works of Bede and elsewhere. The doctrine of transubstantiation, as it was called at a later time, was disputed in France both before and after Ælfric's day, and he appears to have borrowed his ideas on the subject from a treatise entitled *Liber de Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, written by Ratramn, a monk of Corbie, near Amiens, and addressed to Charles the Bald (*d.* 877). Ælfric's opinions are, surely, of no practical importance now. He also wrote some *Lives of Saints*, which may be described as a third series of homilies, intended specially for use in monasteries. Among them are homilies for the days of St. Alban, St.

Swithun, St. Æthelthryth, and St. Oswald the King. They were written at the request of Æthelmær and Æthelweard, and contain many passages in a kind of loose alliterative metre.

(4) Of the efforts of Dunstan and Æthelwold in the cause of education much has already been said. Their work did not die with them; their pupils in their turn became teachers. Two of Ælfric's many works are school-books—one a Latin grammar, which procured him the nickname of *Grammaticus*, the Grammarian; the other a reading-book in Latin and English, in the form of a "Colloquy" between a master and pupil, which contains a valuable picture of contemporary life. The monastic reformers were not content with the teaching to be had at home. Oswald asked the Abbot of Fleury for a teacher for his monastery at Ramsey, and the abbot sent him the master of the convent school, a famous scholar named Abbo, who taught at Ramsey for about two years, and became an intimate friend both of Oswald and Dunstan. While he was in England, Abbo, too, wrote a grammar, which he dedicated to his Ramsey pupils, and, after his return to Fleury, a book on the "Passion" and miracles of St. Eadmund, dedicated to Dunstan, from whom he had heard the story of the king's martyrdom. He became Abbot of Fleury in 988, and was murdered in 1004, at La Réole in Gascony, while engaged in reforming abuses in the religious houses which belonged to his abbey. In addition to homilies, school-books, and the usual scholastic exercises of verses and acrostics, the monastic movement produced a literature of lasting value in the shape of ecclesiastical biography. Nearly all that we know of the Church history of the period comes from the virtually contemporary Lives of Dunstan, Æthelwold, and Oswald. The earliest Life of Dunstan, written about twelve years after his death, is the work of a Saxon priest who, for some reason or other, was an exile in England.

Education and relations with foreign churchmen.

Many churchmen of other lands visited England and were hospitably received by Dunstan, and, as in earlier times, much English money was sent to foreign churches, and books from England found at least a temporary home in foreign monasteries. Dunstan's old friend, Count Arnulf, corresponded with him,

Foreign visitors and correspondents.

and commended to his good offices the Abbot of St. Bertin's, whom he sent to represent him at Eadgar's court, and the archbishop was asked, certainly not in vain, to help his former hosts at Blandinium at a time of scarcity in Flanders. The churches of St. Ouen at Rouen and Ste. Geneviève at Paris were not restored without appeals to the well-known liberality of Eadgar. The convent of St. Bertin's received alms from Archbishop Æthelgar, and hoped that his successor Sigeric would follow his example; and Ealdulf, Archbishop of York, was venerated at Fleury, for his gifts to the abbey rivalled those of Oswald.

It is interesting to find that the Benedictine reformation, which in England owed so deep a debt to the monasteries of other lands, was promoted in Southern Germany by a monk of English race. One of the principal agents in the movement in that land, Wolfgang, Bishop of Ratisbon (*d.* 994), was a disciple of Gregory, Abbot of Einsiedeln. This Gregory was an Englishman of noble birth who, in his youth, left his country and all that he had, and went on a pilgrimage to Rome, where he learnt the Benedictine Rule. After leaving Rome, he joined a little company of monks who had settled at Einsiedeln, became their abbot about 958, and died the head of a large and flourishing convent in 996. From his example and teaching Wolfgang derived his zeal as a monastic reformer. Gregory, who must have assumed that name so dear to Englishmen on taking the vows, and probably during his visit to Rome, left England before the Benedictine reformation had begun there. Yet his renunciation of the world must have been the fruit of the revival of monasticism under the teaching of Ælfheah the Bald, and he may, perhaps, have been a disciple of Dunstan. The Benedictinism of Einsiedeln, though derived at first from Rome, was probably fostered by communication with the English reformers, for the constitutions of the house, written at the end of the tenth century, bear a remarkable resemblance to the English "Concordia Regularis."

(5) Both by example and precept Dunstan and Æthelwold gave a vigorous impetus to the practice of arts and crafts as applied to religious purposes. From their time on to the eve of the Norman Conquest, many churches

Arts.

were built of different sizes, and exhibiting different features; some quite small, and with a narrow arch between the nave and the presbytery; others larger, and on more elaborate plans. Æthelwold's church at Abingdon, probably a restoration of an earlier building, had an apse at the west, as well as the east end, like Christ Church, Canterbury, and possibly other ancient churches, though these two appear to be the only recorded Saxon examples of that arrangement, and it also had a round bell-tower, which was an unusual feature. The larger part of what we are told about the rebuilding of the Old Minster, at Winchester, seems to apply to the fore-court, not to the church itself, and our authority's metrical sentences are so turgid as to render his meaning hopelessly obscure. It had an eastern apse and a crypt, no aisles, probably transepts, and, perhaps, a central tower. The central tower, however, is extremely doubtful, for it is probable that Bishop Ælfheah, who added an *atrium* leading into numerous chapels, built a western tower of five stages over the porch, which, as usual, had four openings.

To this period, as has already been said,[1] belong churches with two towers. Oswald's church at Ramsey was cruciform and had two towers, the loftier in the centre, the lower at the west end. Almost as soon as it was built, the central tower cracked from the top to the bottom owing to its defective foundation; it was rebuilt on a more solid foundation, and the church was not finished until nearly the end of Oswald's life. The larger Saxon church at Deerhurst, rebuilt in the reign of the Confessor, had also two towers, of which the western still remains, an apsidal presbytery with a wide arch, and two transepts, the southern transept having a small eastern apse. Many of the still-existing western towers of the Saxon type seem to have been built after the middle of the tenth century. According to a high architectural authority, in the case of some churches of this period, and notably at Barton-on-Humber, the tower itself constituted the nave of the church, and had a presbytery on its eastern, and a baptistery on its western side.

Church towers.

A demand for church furniture, organs, bells, splendid shrines, sacred vessels and books, stimulated the industry

[1] See pp. 194, 195.

of the disciples of Dunstan and Æthelwold. The "pair of organs" in the Old Minster must have been a fearful as well as a wonderful thing. It had, we are told, fourteen bellows in a lower and twelve in an upper range, which were worked with difficulty by the strength of seventy men, and supplied four hundred pipes with wind. At the keyboards two players thumped in unison, each on his own set of keys, which were distinguished by letters, and were capable of producing seven notes and "the lyric semitone," and of making a noise that could be heard all over the city.

The Winchester organs.

Great labour and skill were applied to the copying and illumination of books. Among the results of the relations between English and foreign churchmen was a change in the general form of writing Latin texts. In the tenth century English scribes gradually adopted the small letters, or minuscules, used in France from the time of Charlemagne. The special characteristic of English minuscule writing is roundness. National peculiarities in the shapes of certain letters soon disappeared, and the writing became exact and beautiful. The finest example of this style of writing as practised in England is the Benedictional of St. Æthelwold, the property of the Duke of Devonshire, which is splendidly decorated. It was written for the bishop by a Winchester monk, named Godeman, almost certainly the Godeman who was appointed Abbot of Thorney, in Cambridgeshire, by Æthelwold about 970. It contains the benedictions pronounced by a bishop at the fraction of the Host on an hundred and sixteen festivals. The volume, which has an hundred and nineteen leaves, with letters about a quarter of an inch long, is adorned with thirty miniature pictures and many highly illuminated pages; the capital letters are in gold, together with the beginnings and endings of some of the benedictions. The drawing generally is good and the draperies extremely graceful; the decorations are bold with rich foliage. A monk of Peterborough illuminated a Sacramentary for Cnut (or Canute), and a Psalter for his queen. Cnut judged them a fit present for a king to give to an emperor, and gave them to the Emperor Conrad. They were afterwards brought back to England and presented to Wulfstan, the holy Bishop of

Handwriting and famous manuscripts.

Worcester. Again, in the last years of our period, the famous Benedictional and Missal of Robert, the Norman Archbishop of Canterbury, now in the public library at Rouen, were certainly written by English hands. From the monastic revival the English Church derived an energy which made itself visible in many different ways. Unhappily, the full development of this energy was checked by a period of disastrous wars, which was followed by a general decline in character, both among ecclesiastics and laymen.

Our survey of the fruits of the monastic revival has carried us beyond the reign of Æthelred. That wretched time was mainly filled by a new series of Danish invasions. With the exception of a few piratical expeditions, these invasions were made first to gain lands for a settlement, and later with the design of political conquest. Some of the invaders were nominally Christians, and others were more or less affected by the influence of Christianity, which was making progress in the North. Churches were not as a rule sacked and burnt, as during the invasions of the ninth century, and ecclesiastics, though suffering along with the rest of the people, did not meet with any specially evil treatment. Terrible as the wars of the reign were, they were not marked by massacres of unarmed English. An invasion, apparently of Norwegian vikings, in 991, was met by the East Saxon ealdorman, Brihtnoth, one of the defenders of the monks in the east country, at the head of a local force, at Maldon, in Essex. The English were defeated, and their gallant old leader was slain, thanking God, according to the famous lay of the battle, for the good hand-play that He had given him that day. He was buried in the newly restored minster of Ely, to which he had been a liberal benefactor, and his widow Ælflæd, besides granting the convent certain estates from her dower at the time of his burial, gave the Church a tapestry representing her husband's noble deeds. In that year Archbishop Sigeric and the ealdorman Æthelweard, the friend of Abbot Ælfric, joined in advising the king to bribe the invaders to leave Wessex in peace. This was no doubt intended merely as a temporary expedient, rendered necessary by a lack of preparation to meet the enemy. Unfortunately,

Danish invasions

it became a precedent which was repeatedly followed with fatal consequences.

At one time of special danger the influence of Christianity brought the English a signal deliverance. In 994, Olaf Tryggvisson, King of Norway, who is said to have been baptized shortly before his invasion, and Swain Forkbeard, of Denmark, who had been baptized in his youth, and had renounced Christianity, made a combined attack upon London. They were foiled by the stout resistance of the burghers, and by "the mild-heartedness of the Mother of God," whose help had apparently been specially invoked by the Londoners. They compelled Sigeric to pay them a heavy ransom to buy them off from attacking Canterbury, ravaged in Wessex until the king paid them Danegeld, and then wintered on the Hampshire coast ready to begin their ravages again in the spring. Æthelred sent an embassy to Olaf headed by Bishop Ælfheah. Olaf listened to the bishop's exhortations, repented of the evil which he was bringing on a Christian land, went with him to meet the king at Andover, and was there confirmed by the good bishop, Æthelred taking him as his "son." He promised never to invade England again, kept his word, and spent the rest of his life in the evangelisation of his people. Swain, deprived of his ally, soon afterwards sailed away, and the land had rest for about two years. Archbishop Sigeric died on October 28, 994, and was succeeded the next near by Ælfric, who had been a monk of Abingdon, and was therefore one of Æthelwold's disciples; he had been made Abbot of St. Albans, and in 990 was consecrated to the bishopric of Wiltshire. Carrying out, probably, a design of his predecessor, he turned the secular clergy out of Christ Church and put monks in their place. He died on November 16, 1005, and was succeeded before the end of the year by Ælfheah, Bishop of Winchester.

Confirmation of Olaf of Norway.

Meanwhile the ravages of the Danes, which were not met with any combined or effective resistance, caused Æthelred to bethink him of his brother's murder, which had raised him to the throne, and of his own evil deeds. His mother Ælfthryth, hoping, it is said, to make her peace with God, founded a monastery for women at Amesbury, in Wiltshire, and another at Wherwell, near Andover, where

Æthelred's repentance.

she died shortly after 999. Miracles were believed to be wrought by Eadward "the Martyr," as he was officially styled, at his burial-place at Shaftesbury, and Æthelred publicly acknowledged them, and made a grant to the convent. He also declared that he repented of the injuries which he had done to the Church, and restored lands which he had taken from the Old Minster and the see of Rochester. His repentance was not accompanied by any attempt to do his duty as a king.

In the North, a scare of invasion in 995 caused the Bernician bishop, Ealdhun, and his monks and clerks to leave Chester-le-Street, and carry St. Cuthbert's body farther inland to Ripon. They soon set out on their return, and when they came near the site of the present Durham, the saint miraculously informed them of his desire to be borne thither. At Durham, then, Ealdhun remained, and built his church on high, where its more magnificent successor still abides in majesty. The saint's change of resting-place, and the consecration of the new cathedral church, were followed by a large harvest of donations to the see. Ealdhun's church was, of course, monastic in name, but the Benedictine reform had not extended north of the Humber, and the chapter of Durham included secular clergy as well as monks. Celibacy was avowedly not practised by the northern clergy. The "Law of the Northumbrian Priests" declares, "If a priest forsake a woman and take another, let him be excommunicate"; a priest might therefore take a wife and cleave to her without rebuke. The see of Durham.

Among the evils attendant on the marriage of priests was the loss to the Church arising from leases of church-lands, which were permanently retained by the lessees or their heirs. Some of the lands of St. Cuthbert were lost in this way. In order to secure protection against the Scots, Bishop Ealdhun gave his daughter, whose name is Latinized as Ecgfrida, and who was born before his consecration in 990, in marriage to Uhtred, the son of Waltheof the Northumbrian earl, and with her six estates of his church, to be held by Uhtred so long as he kept the lady as his wife. Uhtred, who was made earl in place of his father in 1006, sent back the bishop's daughter after she Lands of the bishopric.

had borne him a son named Ealdred, and restored the estates. He then married a wife who left him, and after that a daughter of King Æthelred. The bishop's daughter married another husband, bringing with her this time three of the estates which formed her first portion, was again repudiated, returned with her estates to her father, and died a nun at Durham. Her son Ealdred became earl, and the six estates of the church of Durham which she brought to Uhtred passed to one of Ealdred's daughters, and so to her husband Siward, who slew his wife's uncle Earl Eadwulf, and became Earl of Northumbria in his place. On his death Archil, a powerful Northumbrian noble, one of the three husbands of Sigrith, a granddaughter of the bishop, got possession of the estates. Such was the way in which the lands of the Church were dealt with in the North. In 1018, when his church was finished, save only one tower, Bishop Ealdhun fell sick on hearing that the forces of the Bernician earldom had been routed by the Scots, and died a few days later. The bishopric lay vacant for nearly three years, probably on account of the troubles that followed the Scottish invasion. The next bishop, Eadmund, who was consecrated in 1020, was a secular priest, and secular clergy evidently took part in his election. He assumed the monastic habit at his consecration.

The massacre of the Danes in 1002 was followed by a series of invasions which utterly broke the spirit of the people; no leader appeared to animate or head a national resistance, men thought only of their own safety, and no shire would help its neighbour. In September 1011, the Danes besieged Canterbury, and on the twentieth day of the siege the city was taken, it is said through the treachery of Ælfmær the archdeacon, whose life Archbishop Ælfheah had saved, probably by paying a ransom for him. There was, no doubt, much treachery among the chief men of the country, and the people, demoralised by constant defeat and lack of leadership, saw treachery everywhere. Christ Church was sacked and fired, and the inhabitants of the city, lay folk and ecclesiastics, were made captives. Ælfmær, the Abbot of St. Augustine's, was allowed to go free, it is not known why; others ransomed themselves—among them Godwine, Bishop of Rochester, and Leofrun, Abbess of St.

The sack of Canterbury.

Mildred's, who had taken refuge in the city. The archbishop is said to have promised a ransom; but, according to our most trustworthy authority, the Saxon Chronicle, he made no such promise. He was taken by the Danes to their ships at Greenwich, where he was kept in captivity for seven months. During the spring an enormous tribute was exacted from the country generally, but no ransom was paid by the archbishop. In his captivity he spoke of Christ to his persecutors, and his words did not fall unheeded; they may have been the means of converting one of the Danish leaders called Thorkettle or Thurkill, who soon afterwards appears as a Christian, and joined the English king.

On Saturday, April 19, Ælfheah, in answer to the demands of the Danes, declared that he would not cause a ransom to be raised for him; he would not increase the burdens of the poor; they might do with him as they would, Christ's love made him not afraid. Drunk with wine which had been brought to them by ships from the South, they dragged him to their "husting," or place of assembly. Thurkill, who saw that they meant mischief, offered them all that he had, "except his ship," if they would spare the archbishop. They would not hearken, and pelted Ælfheah with the bones and skulls of the oxen on which they had feasted, and with stones and logs of wood, until one of them named Thrum, whom he had confirmed the day before, in order to put an end to his agony, clave his head with his battle-axe. So died Ælfheah, laying down his life for the sheep which God had committed to his care. His murderers, probably aghast at their own crime, allowed his body to be carried off, and it was buried in St. Paul's Church. He was succeeded in 1013 by Lifing, or Ælfstan, who had been a monk of Glastonbury and was consecrated to the see of Wells in 999; he was, we are told, "very wise both for God and the world," that is, in all causes ecclesiastical and civil. The exclusively monastic character of Christ Church must have been brought to a speedy end by the dispersion of the Canterbury churchmen at the taking of the city, for from that time until Lanfranc's reform the church seems to have had a mixed character, partly religious and partly secular.

Abp. Ælfheah's martyrdom, 1012.

In the year of Lifing's promotion Swain of Denmark was

acknowledged by the English as their king, and Æthelred soon afterwards fled to Normandy. Swain died suddenly at Gainsborough in Lincolnshire, on February 3, 1014. He seems to have been going about levying tribute, and had ordered that a large sum should be paid by Bury St. Edmunds. On the day of his death he held a council, and at its close, as he was mounting his horse, he uttered, the legend says, violent threats as to what he would do to the town and the minster if the money was not paid, sneering at the reverence in which the martyred king was held. On a sudden he saw St. Eadmund riding towards him in full armour. "Help! help!" he cried; "St. Eadmund comes to slay me." As he spoke, the saint smote him with his lance; he fell from his horse, and died that night. Æthelred was restored, and died two years later, in the midst of a struggle between his gallant son, Eadmund Ironside, and Swain's son, Cnut. Eadmund succeeded his father and carried on the war for a few months. He was finally defeated by Cnut at Ashingdon in Essex, died soon afterwards on November 30, 1016, and was buried at Glastonbury. On his death Cnut became undisputed king.

Danish conquest.

Æthelred's reign was fruitful in ecclesiastical laws, some of which have already been noticed. They were made in witenagemots composed of churchmen and laymen, and so complete was the union between Church and State that no spiritual matter was held to be outside the province of the national assembly. For example, in 1008, the witan decreed a new festival, "that St. Edward's mass-day shall be celebrated over all England." Again, before Swain's landing in 1014, they ordered that a daily mass should be sung by all convents "against the heathen," and that Psalm iii. should be added to those sung at each of the canonical hours. The frequent betrayal of the national cause by certain of the nobles seems to have led to an insistence on loyalty as a religious duty. "Let us," the witan say, "zealously venerate right Christianity, and let us faithfully cherish one royal lord."

Ecclesiastical legislation.

Most of the decrees of the witan at this time read like efforts to avert calamity by pious resolutions rather than to overcome it by energy. Of the thirty-five ordinances of

1008, only two concern practical measures for the defence of the kingdom; of the fifty-three made at Enham, only four; while those made on the restoration of Æthelred might belong to a time of profound peace. The idea that the invasions were a consequence of national sin, and might be averted by national repentance, is strongly set forth in a sermon, or address, to the English people, by the homilist Wulfstan, entitled *Lupi Sermo ad Anglos*. Among the evils over which he laments is the custom, then prevalent among the English, of kidnapping and selling their own countrymen into slavery. This disgraceful traffic was carried on with the Danes, and Bristol was the principal port at which the slaves were shipped to the Danish ports in Ireland. The trade was not finally stopped until, in the reign of the Conqueror, Wulfstan, the holy Bishop of Worcester, persuaded the Bristol men to abandon it. Nevertheless, in the reign of Æthelred the Church, as usual, exerted its influence on behalf of the oppressed, for ecclesiastical prompting is evident in the ordinances both of 1008 and those made at Enham against the selling of Christian men into foreign slavery, specially in a heathen land. No fault, indeed, could be found with Æthelred's legislation as far as it goes, did not our knowledge of the feebleness with which the enemy was met, render its pious resolutions somewhat contemptible.

Pious resolutions.

It has been suggested that this feebleness was at least partly due to a predominance of monks and other ecclesiastics in public affairs. This is an erroneous idea. Churchmen were certainly not to blame for the character of the king; it was formed by men who were enemies of the Church. One of the few heroic figures of the reign, Brihtnoth, the Ealdorman of Essex, was the friend and patron of monks, and like him both in piety and valour was Wulfric, the founder of the Abbey of Burton-on-Trent, who fell fighting at Ringmere. While it is true that Archbishop Sigeric cannot wholly be acquitted of having given the king timid advice, no such advice can, we may be sure, have been given by the dauntless Ælfheah. Churchmen did not shrink from taking an active part in the defence of the kingdom. The fleet gathered in 992 was under the command of two bishops,

The Church and national defence.

Ælfric of Ramsbury and Æscwig of Dorchester, and of two lay nobles; it had some success in spite of the desertion of one of its lay commanders. As had ever been their wont, churchmen hazarded their lives on battle-fields; they joined the lay nobles in bringing forces to the host, and remained to say masses for the combatants. To Ashingdon came Eadnoth, Bishop of Dorchester, and Wulfsige, who had succeeded him as Abbot of Ramsey, and many of his monks, in company with the son of Æthelwine, the founder of their house; the two prelates were there to pray, and not to fight, but were both slain. Churchmen, however, do not seem always to have been content to use only spiritual arms in their country's cause, for in the laws of 1014, and in Ælfric's *Pastoral Epistle*, priests are reminded that it is unlawful for them to wear arms, or go to battle. Nor did they seek to escape from contributing their share to the expenses of national defence. Archbishop Ælfric's legacies to the king of his best ship, with helms and coats of mail for sixty men, and of a ship to the men of Kent and another to Wiltshire, evidently represent his assessment to the "ship-fyrd" of the kingdom.

Causes of national weakness.

The feebleness of the resistance to the Danes is not to be laid at the door of monks or clergy. It arose from political, social, and personal causes which do not concern us here. It was caused in part by the nature of the English institutions, which, originally strong on the tribal, and weak on the national, side, were fast developing into a kind of disorganised feudalism, wholly deficient in concentration, and inimical to combined action. This source of weakness was aggravated by the mutual jealousies of the nobles, who had become territorial lords, by the depression of the class of simple freemen consequent on the growth of the feudal spirit, and by the despicable character of Æthelred.

AUTHORITIES.—For the results of the monastic revival see *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, Wulfstan's *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, *Historia Ramesiensis*, Thorpe's *Ancient Laws* and *Diplomatarium*, already quoted; for the change in handwriting, Sir E. M. Thompson's *Greek and Latin Palæography*, see before; and for accounts of the Benedictional of St. Æthelwold, *Archæologia*, xxiv., and *Palæogr. Soc. Publ.* ii. pl. 142, London, 1873, sq. For notices of Gregory of Einsiedeln, Wolfgang, and others, Mabillon, *AA. SS. O. S. B.* sæc. v. Works

of Abbot Ælfric noticed here, *Eccl. Canons*, *Pastoral Epistle*, and *Quando Dividis Chrisma*, ap. Thorpe's *Ancient Laws*, ii.; *Homilies*, Ælfric Soc. ed. Thorpe, 2 vols. 1844; *Lives of the Saints*, E. E. T. Soc. No. 76, 1881; *Lat. Grammar*, ap. Somner's *Dictionarium*, Oxford, 1659; *Colloquium*, ap. Thorpe's *Analecta Anglo-Sax.*, 1834; *Blickling Homilies*, E. E. T. Soc. Nos. 58, 63, 73. Wulfstan's *Homilies*, *Sammlung Englischer Denkmaler*, Bd. 4, ed. Napier, 1880. Ratramn's *Liber de Sanguine*, etc., ap. Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* cxxi. For the general history, chiefly the *Sax. Chronicle* and Florence of Worc. Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, vol. i., is useful here. Osbern's *Vita S. Elphegi*, ap. *Anglia Sacra*, ii., is of the nature of hagiography, and exaggerates the calamities at the taking of Canterbury, as also does Florence of Worc.; the account in the *Sax. Chron.* is, of course, trustworthy; and for the archbishop's death, see Thietmar, ap. Pertz, *SS. Rerum Germ.* iii., quoted by Freeman. The Durham story is from Symeon, *Hist. Dunelm. Eccl.* and *De Obsessione Dunelm.* Abp. Ælfric's will is in Thorpe's *Diplomatarium.*

CHAPTER XX

EXHAUSTION

A PERIOD of decline lies before us. The energy imparted to the Church by the monastic revival grows weaker until, at last, the Church, like the nation at large, stands sorely in need of the vigour which was imparted to both through the discipline of foreign conquest. It may be that the ideas of the monastic reformers, largely inspired as they were from abroad, would, even under favourable conditions, have proved too far in advance of English thoughts and habits to have retained the full influence which they at first exercised in the Church. Be this as it may, the atmosphere which surrounded the Church at the beginning of the eleventh century was unfavourable to its life. National in spirit and constitution, it has always been deeply affected by changes in national character. While it has always been better and purer than the society round it, there have been times in its history when it has suffered grievously from its intimate connection with the life of the nation. It was so during the years between the conquest by the Danes and the conquest by the Normans. The nation had outgrown its institutions, and, as they broke down, character declined, and the greediness and selfishness of the great increased in proportion to the opportunities for their exercise.

Character of the period 1016-66.

The Church was infected by the general decay. Its offices were made the rewards of secular services. Its bishops were busy in intrigue and greedy for wealth and power; they treated their bishoprics like temporal lordships, were eager for plurality, and when they

Abuses in the Church.

became incapacitated for their spiritual duties, instead of resigning their sees, obtained leave to consecrate suffragans. It is, however, easy to be too sweeping in condemnation. Chronicles which record the worldly doings of prelates are, unfortunately, not concerned with the lives of humbler men. Yet there are signs that the Church was not wholly unfaithful to its mission. The godly lives of some great persons, such as Earl Leofric and his wife, and Earl Odda, show that it was still a living force. Among the bishops Wulfstan of Worcester was a shining light. There are others of whom at least we know no evil, and some, like Archbishop Ealdred, who, though unduly occupied with worldly affairs, were not wholly unworthy of their office. Still, with all necessary reservations, it must be allowed that the Church partook largely in the general exhaustion of the nation. Spirituality and learning decayed, and the prelates are as a rule men of whom our authorities say little that is to their honour. The special characteristics of the time are the increase in the employment of ecclesiastics in secular affairs, and the consequent use of Church preferment as the reward of their services. Foreigners were promoted to English sees and abbacies, some because they were largely employed in administrative offices, and some, too, in later times, through royal favouritism and political jealousies. These appointments may to some small extent be excused by the decline of learning among English ecclesiastics. Lastly, the exercise of papal authority made a marked advance, which may be traced to the ideas imported by foreign churchmen, and to the character and education of Eadward the Confessor.

Though some seeds of evil were implanted in the Church during the reign of Cnut, the decline in spirituality is not marked, and it was outwardly a time of prosperity. Cnut, who had been baptized before his first coming to England in 1013, was probably hallowed as king by Archbishop Lifing early in 1017. After he had made his throne secure by wholesale executions, he set himself to rule well, and as an English king. The agreement of his witan that Danes and Englishmen should live under the laws of King Eadgar finds its ecclesiastical counterpart in his ordinance for the observance of St. Dunstan's mass-day; his

Cnut and the Church.

government was to be carried on on the lines laid down by Eadgar and Dunstan in Church and State. In religious matters he seems to have owed much to Archbishop Æthelnoth, who, on the death of Lifing, was consecrated to the see of Canterbury on November 13, 1020, and received his pall at Rome in 1022. Æthelnoth was originally a monk of Glastonbury, and at the time of his election was dean of Christ Church, Canterbury, an office different from that held by deans of later days, and, perhaps, importing the control of the church and its property, in subordination to the archbishop. He was a pious man, and was, like Oda, called "the Good." His influence, as well as the religious feelings and conciliatory policy of the king, may be discerned in the translation of the body of the martyred Ælfheah in 1033. Cnut himself, attended by many bishops and nobles, conveyed the body from St. Paul's to Southwark, and there delivered it to Æthelnoth to be carried to Canterbury. His queen, the Norman Emma, the widow of Æthelred, with Harthacnut, her son by her Danish husband, met the procession at Rochester. After the body had lain in state for a week, it was buried on June 15, on the north side of the high altar of Christ Church.

His ecclesiastical laws.

Cnut's ecclesiastical laws, published at Winchester, and doubtless inspired by Æthelnoth, are generally re-enactments of laws of the reigns of Eadgar and Æthelred. Like the laws of Æthelred, they insist on the religious duty of obedience to the king; "above all things men are to love and worship one God, unanimously observe one Christianity, and love King Cnut with strict fidelity." Along with much wholesome exhortation to Christian conduct, they repeat the ordinances that all ecclesiastics of both sexes should live according to rule, that priests should keep chastity, and that Church dues should be paid regularly. Cnut was not always in England, for he built up a great Scandinavian empire in the North, and, while absent or present, seems to have relied on the English bishops to maintain the peace and order which made his reign a blessing to the country. In a proclamation issued about 1018, which bears evident marks of ecclesiastical influence, he calls on the bishops, equally with the lay officers of his kingdom, to put down all offences against the law of God, the secular law, or his own kingship, and orders that the

decisions of the sheriffs in the shire-courts should be given in accordance with their word.

Impelled, probably, by a mixture of religious feelings and political motives, Cnut made a pilgrimage to Rome in 1027. An eyewitness tells us of the visit he paid to St. Bertin's Abbey on his journey thither. He entered the minster with downcast eyes and humble mien, shed tears of penitence at the shrines of the saints, prostrated himself before the high altar, and with his own hands laid upon it a magnificent offering. At every altar in the church he made an offering with a devout kiss. That his actions were not in all respects such as became a religious man, that in his policy in the North he showed himself astute and somewhat unscrupulous, is not proof that either his religion or his emotional manifestations of devotion and repentance were insincere. There is no reason to doubt his sincerity. Great as a ruler and crafty as a politician, he had something of the childlike nature of the barbarian; his emotions were strong, and it was not an age when men concealed their feelings. At Rome he was present at the coronation of the Emperor Conrad II., and there met also King Rudolf of Burgundy, and a crowd of magnates, ecclesiastical and lay, who had come to attend the coronation on Easter Day. From Conrad and Rudolf he obtained a promise that English and Danes, whether merchants or pilgrims, who journeyed to Rome, should be freed from tolls, and from John XIX. that the English archbishops should not for the future be required to pay exorbitant sums for their palls.

Cnut's pilgrimage.

Before he left Rome he sent a letter to the two archbishops as heads of the kingdom in his absence, the nobles, and all the English people, by Lifing, then Abbot of Tavistock, an able and eloquent man, whom he had taken with him, doubtless to assist him in the transaction of business. In this letter, beautiful in its simplicity and evident sincerity, he tells his people how pleased he was that he had been able to fulfil the vow of pilgrimage that he had made some years before, and to worship in the church of the Apostle; how honourably he had been received by the pope, the emperor, and the princes assembled at Rome, and how he had obtained the two concessions for them as to

His letter.

freedom from tolls and the archbishops' palls. Then, as though stirred to good resolves by the sight of the holy places of Rome, he says that he had vowed to rule religiously and well, and to amend the errors of his youth. He commands his officers to administer the law without respect of persons, and not to oppress any in order to gather money for him, for, said he, "I have no need to amass money by unjust exaction." He was going, he continues, to Denmark, and hoped to return to England before the end of the summer, and he orders that by that time all Church dues should be paid without fail, or defaulters should suffer the penalty of the law. While using the Church to assist him in his work of government, he took care to protect its temporal interests. His example gave a fresh impetus to the custom of pilgrimage, and Englishmen of all ranks again, as in times past, journeyed to Rome, and so helped to bring the Roman see into closer relations with their own Church.

Cnut was a liberal benefactor to the Church; he made grants to several English minsters, monastic and secular, and, like Eadgar, did not confine his liberality to his own land, for, at the instigation of Æthelnoth, he sent money to help Fulbert, Bishop of Chartres, to build his cathedral. He seems, so far as his personal feelings were concerned, to have favoured the monastic cause, doubtless holding the general belief that the monks were superior in holiness to the secular clergy. He founded the abbey of St. Benet at Holm, in Norfolk, and as an atonement for the evil deeds which his Danish people had done in England, and specially, no doubt, for the sins and blasphemies of his father, he rebuilt the ruined minster at Bury St. Edmunds, which was thenceforward called by the name of the martyred king. On rebuilding the church, Cnut took it from its clergy and gave it to monks whom he sent from St. Benet's. A like desire for expiation led him to visit Glastonbury, and make a rich offering at the tomb of his gallant foe Eadmund Ironside. Both minsters at Winchester were enriched by him and his queen Emma, who was more lavish than wise in her gifts to churches, and the cross which he gave to the New Minster was long famous alike for its beauty, and for the weight of the gold and silver of which it was composed. The monasteries of East Anglia

Cnut and the monks.

seem to have specially attracted him. It was his custom to spend Candlemas every year at Ely. On one of his visits there, he is said to have made the song which, though the one known version of it is in later English than his time, may represent how, as "merry sung the monks of Ely when Cnut King rowed thereby," he bade his "cnites" row to shore, that he might hear them singing. Ely was in great glory in his time, for its abbot, Leofsige, would admit no monk unless he was a good scholar and a man of high birth who would add to the wealth of the church and convent.

Cnut's church at Ashingdon.

On the other hand, the church which Cnut built at Ashingdon, to commemorate his victory over Eadmund, was a secular foundation, to which he appointed a priest named Stigand, probably the future Archbishop of Canterbury. This, however, does not prove that he preferred secular to monastic churches, for his church at Ashingdon was small, and was served only by one priest. It is specially noted that it was built of stone, for in that well-wooded district it would have been more usual to employ timber.

The king's clerks.

While enriching monastic churches, Cnut effected a change in the system of administration which led to the promotion of many secular clerks to the episcopate. Under him the royal chaplains, or clerks, appear as an organised body, employed in affairs of State, and chiefly, as it would seem, in the issuing of royal writs, through which the king acted in person. In the reign of Eadward the Confessor this body was further organised, and the head of the royal chapel, the chancellor, held the king's seal, which was then first brought into use in England. The king's clerks were rewarded by ecclesiastical preferment, and often by bishoprics, and in this way many bishoprics came to secular clerks, men more versed in political than spiritual matters. The organisation of the king's clerks as an administrative body was an institution of foreign origin, and the king consequently chose certain foreign clerks as his chaplains because they were familiar with the business that they had to transact. Cnut appointed some Lotharingians, and Eadward the Confessor, besides Lotharingians, largely employed Norman clerks. Among Cnut's clerks, Eadsige, an Englishman, was

in 1035 consecrated as a bishop in Kent, to be a suffragan to Archbishop Æthelnoth. He had his suffragan see at St. Martin's, the church of Queen Bertha, and was, by the king's direction, admitted as a monk by the convent of Folkestone. Duduc, a Lotharingian, also probably one of Cnut's clerks, was made Bishop of Wells, and Wythman, another German, received the abbacy of Ramsey. The royal action becomes peculiarly prominent in the episcopal appointments of this period. Though the forms of canonical election and acceptance by the witan were preserved, the king really appointed the bishop, and, as has already been said, sent a writ to the archbishop commanding the consecration of his nominee, after canonical election by the chapter, and appointment in a witenagemot.

The abuse of the episcopal office as a reward for political service led to the appointment of worldly-minded bishops, who thirsted for plurality and did not shrink from simony. These evils, however, did not appear so long as Cnut lived. On the contrary, the unfortunate precedent created by Oswald and Dunstan was set aside. In the later years of Wulfstan of York a bishop was appointed to the see of Worcester, though so long as Wulfstan lived he was probably merely his suffragan. Wulfstan died in 1023, and was buried at Ely, where he had perhaps been a monk, and where he was reverenced as a benefactor. He was succeeded at York by Ælfric, called Puttoc, or the Hawk, and the bishopric of Worcester then seems to have been separated from York, much to Ælfric's disgust. He had been provost, or prior, of the Old Minster, and was a vindictive and greedy man, though magnificent in his gifts to the abbey of Peterborough, and the secular minster of Beverley, where he organised the clergy of the church as a college with proper officers, such as a sacristan and precentor.

Ælfric, Abp. of York, 1023-51.

Before we enter on the signs of decay in spirituality which appeared in the Church after the death of Cnut, we may dwell for a moment on a nobler, though more obscure, passage in its history. The spirit of Ælfheah dwelt in the hearts of not a few of the English clergy, for while their country was suffering from Scandinavian invasions, English missionaries were labouring for the evangelisation of Scandinavian lands. This renewal of missionary effort may,

English missionaries in the North.

as was said in the last chapter, be attributed to the increase of spiritual life consequent on the monastic revival. It is said that Olaf Tryggvisson of Norway had been baptized by an English missionary, a bishop named John, before he invaded England in 994, and that after the king had learnt the faith more fully from Ælfheah, other English missionaries helped him in his work of evangelising his people. Another Olaf of Norway, called the Saint, a stern and able king, who sought to abolish heathenism in his kingdom, also employed bishops and priests from England. It is said that in Sweden an English missionary named Wulfred dared to hew in pieces an image of Thor in the face of the national assembly, and was slain on the spot. In Denmark, heathenism was still strong at the accession of Cnut, who, as he used English gold to increase his power in the North, used the zeal of Englishmen to complete the conversion of the Danes. He seems to have designed to give the see of Canterbury a kind of superiority over the Church in Denmark somewhat similar to that which his policy assigned to England with respect to his other dominions, for, in 1022, he caused Æthelnoth to consecrate three bishops, apparently of Danish origin, for the dioceses of Scania, Funen, and Roskilde. This greatly displeased Unwan, the Archbishop of Bremen, who claimed to be metropolitan of the North; he caught the new Bishop of Roskilde at sea, forced him to make a profession of obedience, and wrote to Cnut complaining of the infringement of his metropolitical rights. The king promised that he would respect them in the future.

Cnut died in 1035, and was buried in the Old Minster at Winchester. After his death came evil times. The succession was disputed. After a short period of uncertainty, Harold established himself as king, and Godwine, the powerful Earl of the West Saxons, who had previously opposed his claim, went over to the winning side. Æthelnoth is said to have declared that he would hallow no one as king save one of the sons of Æthelred and Emma; and, though the story is doubtful, it is probable that Harold was never hallowed. Godwine's right-hand man was Lifing, who had received the see of Crediton as a reward for his services to Cnut on his pilgrimage. He had been allowed by the king to hold along with it the Cornish bishopric, which thenceforth

Intrigue.

ceased to have a separate existence until our own day. The part, whatever it may have been, that Godwine had in the murder of the ætheling Ælfred, or Alfred, the elder of the two sons of Æthelred and Emma, and the brother of Eadward, seems to have brought the earl into friendly relations with Harold. Evidently, as a consequence of his change of policy, his creature Lifing received a third bishopric, that of Worcester, which he held in plurality.

The hopes of another greedy ecclesiastic seem to have been dashed by Harold's successes. Cnut's clerk Stigand, probably the priest of Ashingdon, who had attached himself to Queen Emma, is said to have bought the see of Elmham, and to have lost it before consecration, because another priest outbid him. If this was so, the failure of his simoniacal project must be connected with the banishment of the queen by Harold in 1037. He remained one of the royal clerks, and did not gain a bishopric until the accession of the Confessor. The good Archbishop Æthelnoth died on October 29, 1038, and within a week he was followed by Æthelric, Bishop of Selsey, evidently a man of like mind, for the two were so deeply attached to each other, that Æthelric is said to have prayed that he might not long survive his "dearest father Æthelnoth." Eadsige, Æthelnoth's suffragan, succeeded him at Canterbury, and Grimkettle, who must have been a Dane, the priest who is said to have outbidden Stigand for Elmham, though he did not get that see, was consecrated as Æthelric's successor at Selsey. He is accused of having bought the see from the king. Harold ended his ungodly life in 1040, and was buried at Westminster, where there was an ancient monastery, then of no great account.

Simony.

He was succeeded by his equally worthless half-brother Harthacnut, who was crowned by Archbishop Eadsige. One of his first acts as king was to send some of his chief men to disinter and insult his brother's corpse. Ælfric, the Archbishop of York, went with them, and is said to have suggested this shameful proceeding; it may perhaps be enough to believe that he took part in it. Eadsige had probably gone to fetch his pall, and Ælfric may have been employed, as the highest ecclesiastical authority in

Abp. Ælfric's evil deeds.

England at the moment, to sanction this act of sacrilege. He had a special reason for wishing to stand well with the king, for he was anxious to annex the see of Worcester. It was with this end in view that he was foremost in accusing Earl Godwine and Bishop Lifing of the murder of Ælfred. Harthacnut at once deprived Lifing of his bishopric and gave it to Ælfric. The monks, clergy, and people of Worcester were not minded that their church should again become an appendage to York, and refused to receive him. The next year, the Worcestershire people having made a revolt, and slain some of the king's guards, or "house-carls," who were collecting a tax from them, Ælfric is said to have indulged his spite by advising the king to punish them severely. Worcester was burnt, and the shire ravaged. By that time Lifing had, we may suppose, like his patron Godwine, cleared himself by oath of the charge made against him, and purchased his peace with the king; for when matters were settled in Worcestershire he was restored to his bishopric. Harthacnut died on June 8, 1042. He was attending the marriage-feast of his standard-bearer, Tofig the Proud, and "died as he stood at his drink." He was buried with his father in the Old Minster.

A new devotion.

On one of Tofig's many estates called Leodgaresburh, the wooded peak afterwards known as Montacute, in Somerset, there was found in the days of Cnut a wonder-working rood or crucifix. Its fame was soon noised abroad, and Tofig determined to build a church in its honour. Guided, of course, by a miracle, he caused it to be borne to another of his estates, Waltham in Essex, then a wild and lonely place, where he had a hunting-lodge. There he built a little church for it, which was served by two priests. It was not long before dwellings sprung up round the church; for, according to the Waltham legend, sixty-six persons who had been healed by the rood settled there, in order to devote themselves to its honour. The new devotion gained ground, a stately minster took the place of Tofig's little church, and the Holy Rood was used as the war-cry of the heroic band which fought and fell in England's cause round the founder's standard.

On the death of Harthacnut, Eadward, the only surviving son of Æthelred, was chosen king. He was crowned by

Eadsige at Winchester on April 3, 1043. Although canonised as a saint, he was an unworthy king. Religious and pure in life he certainly was, but he was slothful, incapable, and easily led by favourites. That he treated his young wife merely as a daughter, was, truly or falsely, believed shortly after his death, and this belief, together with such virtues as he had, appealed strongly to monastic writers. Stories of his sanctity became common. He was said to have worked miracles, and among them to have cured a scrofulous woman by his touch, and in after-times a belief arose that his successors had a like power in virtue of their office. Brought up in Normandy, the last king of the house of Alfred was a foreigner in his tastes; he loved the society of Normans and Frenchmen, and gave largely to Norman monasteries and ecclesiastics.

Eadward the Confessor.

While Eadward set foreigners in high places in the State, he found larger opportunities for indulging his partiality for them in ecclesiastical appointments, which were more fully under his control. As other foreigners besides Normans were promoted in the English Church, and owed their promotion to leaders of the national party, it is probable that there were not many English churchmen at that time who were fit for high office. Certainly the ecclesiastics of Normandy were as a class superior to those of England in Eadward's time, and his partiality might therefore admit of some excuse if he had given preferment only to the worthiest of them. This, however, was not the case. Of actual simony he may be held innocent, but his Church appointments were made simply for personal reasons. Abbacies were treated in the same way as bishoprics; they were evidently bestowed according to the royal pleasure, and were in some cases held in plurality. Leofric, Abbot of Peterborough, the nephew of Earl Leofric of Mercia, received from the king, for himself and his convent, the abbeys of Burton and Coventry, and was further appointed by Eadward, Abbot of Crowland and of Thorney. Along with foreign bishops and a king of foreign tastes came continental ideas. The Church was brought into closer connection with the Roman see; English envoys appeared at papal synods, and, for the first time since the days of Offa, papal legates landed in England.

His Church appointments.

In consequence of a political change introduced by Cnut, the government of the country was largely in the hands of a few powerful "earls." During the first part of Eadward's reign the three chief earls were Godwine, Earl of Wessex; Leofric, Earl of Mercia; and Siward, Earl of Northumbria. Great as Godwine's power had previously been, it was increased by the accession of Eadward, who married his daughter Eadgyth, or Edith. His character and actions do not concern us here except so far as they had an influence on the Church. The best that can be said of him is that he was the champion of the national party, and opposed the promotion of Normans both in Church and State. At a time when the religion of the great was invariably shown by grants to churches, Godwine, whose wealth was enormous, neither founded nor enriched a single church, and certainly seized ecclesiastical property for himself. Nor does he seem to have regarded bishoprics in any other light than as a means of strengthening his party, or rewarding his friends. He almost certainly approved the appointments of Lotharingian clerks to English sees as a check on the power of the Norman party. These German bishops were on the secular side, while Eadward and his Norman friends probably favoured the monks.

The great earls—Godwine,

Leofric of Mercia was a man of a different mould; he and his wife Godgifu, the lady Godiva of a foolish legend, were noble and pious people. They rebuilt and endowed the church of Coventry for an abbot and twenty-five monks, and Godgifu, after her husband's death, caused skilful goldsmiths to fashion all her treasure into ornaments for it, so that it was said that the church seemed scarcely large enough for all the gold and silver which it contained. The monasteries of Worcester, Evesham, Leominster, and Wenlock, and the secular churches of Chester and Stow in Lindsey were restored or otherwise enriched by the bounty of the earl and his wife. They took a personal interest in all the good works which they caused to be done, and valued the friendship of godly men. Siward of Northumbria, whose wife was one of the daughters of Earl Ealdred and a descendant of Bishop Ealdhun, was a Dane by birth, and was chiefly conspicuous as a warrior. Though guilty of one of those deeds of

Leofric, and Siward.

blood that were common in the North, he was not an irreligious man. He built a minster at Galmanho, outside the walls of York, in honour of St. Olaf, which in later days became St. Mary's Abbey. Another less powerful earl called Odda, though his baptismal name seems to have been Æthelwine, a kinsman of the king, was, we are told, a man of pure and noble life, a lover of churches, and a friend of the poor. He was a benefactor to the abbey of Pershore, and founded the monastery of Deerhurst, which the king afterwards gave to the French abbey of St. Denys.

As soon as Eadward became king, his mother's friend Stigand again received the see of Elmham. Emma, however, fell into disgrace with her son for political reasons, and Stigand, who was probably still unconsecrated, lost the bishopric for the second time, if the story of his first disappointment is true. Emma's disgrace became the basis of a legend which represents her, though she would then at the least have been fifty-five, as accused of unchastity with a bishop, and as clearing herself by the ordeal of walking barefoot over hot ploughshares in Winchester Cathedral. The story is late and quite unhistorical. Stigand attached himself to Earl Godwine, was restored to his bishopric, and received consecration. In 1047 he was appointed Bishop of Winchester, and managed to secure the see of Elmham for his brother Æthelmær. Episcopal appointments had been sold so openly during the last two reigns that when Archbishop Eadsige, who had fallen into bad health, desired to have a suffragan coadjutor, he was afraid that the office might be bought or begged without his concurrence. He therefore told his wish to the king and Godwine privately, and by their authority, consecrated Siward, Abbot of Abingdon, as his suffragan, with the title of Bishop of Upsala. Siward received a promise of the succession and attested charters as archbishop. He did not, however, succeed to Canterbury, for he retired about six years later on account of sickness, and Eadsige resumed his duties until his death.

Episcopal appointments.

Godwine's overwhelming influence in Church matters soon received a check, for, in 1044, Eadward appointed Robert, Abbot of Jumièges, a friend of his youth, to the see of London. Robert, who had begun to build the magnificent

church of his abbey, might, if he had stayed in Normandy, have left a fair record. In England he showed himself a mischievous intriguer. He acquired extraordinary influence over the king, and encouraged him to fill his court with Normans, and to promote them to high offices, both spiritual and temporal. For a while, however, the earl was too strong for him, and the next year the bishopric of Wiltshire was given to one of the king's Lotharingian clerks named Hermann. Again, on the death of the pluralist Lifing, in 1046, Leofric, the king's chancellor, who, though a Cornishman by birth, had been educated in Lotharingia, received the bishopric of Crediton, which then included Cornwall. Leofric, with his continental ideas, desired to have his see in a city, and obtained leave to move it to Exeter. His example was followed by other bishops after the Norman conquest, when a law was made ordering such removals. At Exeter he turned out the nuns from the Church of St. Peter, made it his cathedral church, and organised his clergy on the Lotharingian plan; he made his canons live together, with a common dormitory and refectory. Some traces of this system survived at Exeter a century later, but the feeling of the English clergy was so strongly adverse to it that the Rule of Chrodegang was then no longer strictly obeyed. Lifing's other see, Worcester, went to Ealdred, like his predecessor an Abbot of Tavistock; he was much employed in secular affairs, attempted to check a Welsh invasion by force of arms, was sent on embassies to foreign countries, and was a great traveller.

Personal and party considerations.

Godwine's power was probably shaken by the evil conduct of his eldest son Swain, or Swegen, who seduced the Abbess of Leominster, and desired leave to marry her. This, of course, could not be allowed. He left England in anger, joined himself to the king's enemies, and was outlawed. He came back, was guilty of a treacherous murder, and, finally repenting of his sins, died while returning from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The convent at Leominster, which had been enriched by Earl Leofric, appears to have been suppressed in consequence of the fall of the abbess. The decay of Godwine's power is probably marked by the appointment of Ulf, a Norman, and one of the

Decline of Godwine's power.

royal clerks, to the see of Dorchester; he was notoriously unfit to be a bishop.

Among the effects of Eadward's Norman training, and of the influx of Norman and German prelates, was the attendance of English envoys at papal councils. Bishop Duduc and two abbots were sent by the king to the council which Leo IX. held at Reims in 1049, that they might bring him word "what should be determined for Christendom." Again, in 1050, Eadward sent Bishops Hermann and Ealdred to Rome on an errand of his own. It is alleged that he desired to be dispensed from a vow of pilgrimage, that the pope bade him build or restore some monastery, and that he fulfilled the command by building Westminster Abbey. The bishops attended the council then sitting at Rome, and must have joined in the condemnation of Berengar of Tours procured by Lanfranc, the future Archbishop of Canterbury, who asserted that Berengar had declared the sacrament of the Lord's Supper to be a mere figure. Another council was held later in the year at Vercelli. There Ulf appeared, seeking confirmation of his appointment to the see of Dorchester, and doubtless consecration also, for Eadsige was then near his end. He came with the pastoral staff given him by the king as the symbol of his investiture with the bishopric. When, however, he was examined by the bishops specially appointed for the purpose, he was found, clever as he may have been in the king's business, to be so ignorant of ecclesiastical matters as to be unable to perform divine service. The bishops well-nigh took his staff from him, but he got over all canonical difficulties by the expenditure of a large sum of money, which, we may be sure from the character of the pope, was paid without his knowledge.

Papal councils.

Eadsige's death on October 29, 1050, was followed by a trial of strength between Godwine and Bishop Robert, the leaders of the national and foreign parties at the court. One of Godwine's kinsmen named Ælfric, a monk of Christ Church, and a man of much ability in worldly affairs, was elected and presented to the king by the chapter, acting, we may suppose, in obedience to instructions from the earl. For Godwine, as we have seen, had, in the case of the appointment of the suffragan Siward, appa-

Robert, Abp. of Canterbury, and Earl Godwine.

rently exercised an authority in ecclesiastical matters little, if at all, inferior to that of the king. Times, however, were changed. Eadward set aside the election, and in the spring of 1051 gave the archbishopric to Robert. Still, Norman influence was not yet omnipotent, for at the same time he appointed Spearhafoc (Sparrow-hawk), the Abbot of Abingdon, who was evidently one of Godwine's adherents, to succeed Robert as Bishop of London. Eadward made this appointment from personal motives. Spearhafoc, who afterwards proved to be a dishonest man, was a skilful goldsmith, and had won the king's favour by making a splendid crown for him. His appointment casts some suspicion on Eadward, but does not prove him guilty of actual simony. Robert's duty and inclination coincided in this matter. When he returned from Rome with his pall, Spearhafoc came to him "with the king's writ and seal" commanding his consecration. Robert, however, persistently refused to consecrate him, saying that the pope had forbidden it. Spearhafoc, though unconsecrated, took possession of the bishopric, that is of the temporalities of the see, in virtue of the king's investiture.

Robert's promotion brought matters to a point between the two parties in the court and kingdom. The king and Godwine quarrelled over a political matter; Robert inflamed the king's anger against the earl, and a civil war was only averted by the mediation of Leofric. In spite of Stigand's efforts on behalf of his patron, Godwine and his whole house were outlawed in September 1051, his daughter the queen being sent for a time to a nunnery. Archbishop Robert thus became supreme; Spearhafoc was sent back to Abingdon, and William, one of the king's Norman clerks, and a worthy man, was consecrated to the see of London.

Exile of Godwine.

Exactly a year later, Godwine returned to England, and was welcomed by an armed host. While he lay at Southwark on September 14, 1052, and Stigand was negotiating between him and the king, the foreigners, Normans and Frenchmen, fled. Robert and Ulf, with their followers, rode for their lives through the streets of London, killing and maiming some as they passed through the hostile crowd, pressed through the east gate, and made their way to Walton-on-Naze, where they got on board an unseaworthy

His return.

boat and escaped over sea. Bishop William also seems to have taken refuge for a time.

Godwine's success was complete. His adherent Stigand received Robert's archbishopric, and held it in plurality with the see of Winchester, and more than one abbey. Stigand's position was schismatical. So long as Robert lived and did not resign his office, there could be no other canonical Archbishop of Canterbury. And Robert had no idea of resignation; he carried his wrongs to the pope, who gave him a letter ordering that he should be reinstated. Nevertheless, he did not regain his see or again appear in England. His wrongs formed one of the grievances which William the Norman pleaded against England, and Stigand's schism was probably the determining cause of the help that Rome gave to the invader. Stigand could not, of course, obtain a pall, and made his position worse by wearing the pall which Robert had left behind him in his hasty flight. The English Church regarded him as a usurper; there was, the Abingdon chronicler says, "no archbishop in the land," for Cynesige, who succeeded Ælfric at York in 1051, did not fetch his pall until 1055. Bishops-elect sought consecration abroad. One of them, Wulfsige, was consecrated to Dorchester, the see from which Ulf had been driven, and, as in this case no complaint is made of usurpation, it is possible that Ulf was canonically deposed. Bishop William was allowed to keep his see, for he was beloved in his diocese. Archbishop Cynesige, who lived with monastic strictness, and is said to have done something for the religious instruction of his flock, seems, after receiving his pall, to have taken Stigand's place in public functions of special importance, and consecrated a Bishop of Llandaff in 1056. From the reign of Eadgar onwards, several bishops of Llandaff and some of St. David's are said to have come to Canterbury for consecration, and in this case Cynesige officiated on account of Stigand's schismatical position. As Archbishop of York, he consecrated two successive bishops to the see of Glasgow and received their professions of obedience.

A schismatical archbishop.

After the death of Godwine in 1053, Harold, his eldest surviving son, became virtual ruler of the kingdom. With some of his father's faults, he was a better man, and though

his private life was not above reproach, he had at least much religious feeling. The charges brought against him of robbing the Church do not bear investigation, and he founded a magnificent minster. Yet his rule was not beneficial to the Church. In the episcopal appointments of the last twelve years of the reign he seems generally to have followed out his father's policy. Leofgar, Bishop of Hereford, his own clerk or chaplain, scandalised churchmen by his military tastes. As a priest, he wore moustaches, and when he was a bishop he forsook, the chronicler tells us, "his ghostly weapons, his chrism and his rood, and took to his spear and his sword." He marched against the Welsh, and was slain, together with the priests who marched with him, a few weeks after his consecration in 1056. The indignant words of the chronicler seem to confirm the opinion that though bishops sometimes directed military operations, they did not personally engage in combat. Two Lotharingian clerks received bishoprics; Walter, Queen Eadgyth's clerk, succeeded Leofgar at Hereford, and Gisa succeeded Duduc at Wells. A scandalous story concerning the death of Walter, which took place in the reign of the Conqueror, is probably untrue, but it would scarcely have been told of a man of holy life. Yet one episcopal appointment sheds some lustre on Harold's ecclesiastical administration, for Wulfstan of Worcester was his personal friend.

Harold's ecclesiastical policy.

The injury that he did to the Church in keeping in abeyance the metropolitan authority of the see of Canterbury cannot be excused by political reasons, strong as they undoubtedly were. He recognised the uncanonical position of Stigand, but was too selfish to depose his father's creature and to recall his father's enemy. So far, however, as his policy would allow, he sought to remedy the evil, for, evidently owing to his intervention, Stigand received a pall from Benedict X. in 1058, though he did not go to Rome for it. This pall was probably obtained for him by Harold in person, for the earl made a pilgrimage to Rome about that time. Stigand, having obtained a pall, consecrated two bishops; but the gift soon rendered his position worse than before, for Benedict, who was no true pope, was degraded the next year, and Hildebrand, the future Gregory VII., and the popes

Stigand and Harold.

supported by him, resented this acknowledgment of the usurper. Stigand was excommunicated by five successive popes, and his position at home did not improve. Harold's selfish policy disposed the Roman see, a few years later, to support the invasion of England, and so brought its own reward.

Abp. Ealdred at Rome.

On the death of Archbishop Cynesige on December 22, 1060, Ealdred of Worcester was appointed to York. While at Worcester, he rebuilt the church of St. Peter at Gloucester, where, in the reign of Cnut, Wulfstan II. of York, who claimed authority over it as a Northumbrian foundation, had caused the canons to assume the monastic habit. He had been much employed by the king, and, besides his mission to Rome, had been on embassies to Bruges and Cologne, and he had also gone on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. On his promotion to York, he again journeyed to Rome to fetch his pall, in company with Tostig, one of Harold's brothers, who had succeeded Siward as Earl of Northumbria, and at the same time as Gisa and Walter, bishops-elect of Wells and Hereford, who went to Rome to seek consecration, for they would not receive it from Stigand. Nicolas II. refused Ealdred his pall, because he was retaining the see of Worcester along with the archbishopric, and is even said to have declared him degraded from the episcopal office. Tostig in vain pleaded for him; the pope was inexorable, and they set out on their homeward journey. On their way, they were set upon by brigands, who robbed them of all that they had with them. They went back to the pope. The earl reproached him with the disorderly state of his territory, and declared that the English king would be in the right if he sent no more Peter's pence to Rome, and that he would tell him the whole affair. Nicolas made the travellers' losses up to them, and appeased the earl by granting Ealdred his pall on condition that he resigned Worcester.

Papal legates in England.

Chiefly in order to ensure the fulfilment of this condition, the next pope, Alexander II., took a step for which there had been no precedent in the history of the English Church since the visit of George and Theophylact in the days of Offa. He sent two legates to England in 1062, Ermenfried, Bishop of Sion, and another.

The legates went to Worcester, and were lodged by Ealdred in the monastery, which was then under the care of Wulfstan, the prior.

Wulfstan.

Wulfstan was a native of Warwickshire, the son of pious parents, who both in old age entered religion. Though educated at monastic schools, first at Evesham and then at Peterborough, he had no thought of taking orders, and lived for a while as a layman. He was a pious young man, and was ordained priest when he was about twenty-six. He refused a good living which the bishop pressed upon him, became a monk of Worcester, and was made prior by Ealdred. He was a pattern of asceticism and holiness to his fellow-monks, and spent much time outside the walls of the monastery, so that all who needed his help might find him readily. Crowds of poor people brought their children to him to be baptized, for his monastic biographer declares that the secular clergy would not administer baptism without a fee. This would, of course, be simony of the rankest sort, and, if the biographer's assertion is true, the inferior clergy must have become infected with the sins of the bishops. Wulfstan had little learning but much wisdom. Many great people used to go to him for counsel, and Earl Harold was wont to say that he would at any time cheerfully go thirty miles out of his way to have a talk with him. The legates were struck with his holiness, and used their influence at Worcester to secure his canonical election, in which, it is said, the clergy and people took part, as well as the monks. They procured the assent of the king and the witan, and Wulfstan was consecrated by Ealdred. In consequence of Stigand's usurpation he delayed his profession of obedience to the see of Canterbury. For a time Ealdred treated him as though he had merely been his suffragan, and years passed before he obtained complete possession of the estates of his church.

Wulfstan, Bp. of Worcester, 1062-95.

Secular minsters in the North.

While the monks found powerful and liberal supporters, the reign of the Confessor saw a movement in favour of secular churches, and the organisation of their clergy into colleges, more or less conforming to the rule of Chrodegang, and with proper officers, such as a sacristan, precentor, and chancellor. This movement

may be ascribed to two causes which have already been noted—the German influence, which was chiefly active in Southern England, and the effect of the monastic revival on ecclesiastical life generally. Northumbria was almost untouched by the Benedictine movement in any direct way, and remained the special land of great secular minsters, such as York, Beverley, Ripon, Hexham, and Southwell, which was subject to the northern metropolitan. In these minsters it seems that a system had grown up somewhat analogous to that of the Culdees of the Scots' Church. The priests of the minster were married, and handed down their interest in the minster estates to their sons in an hereditary line of priests. The higher ideal of clerical life introduced by the monastic reformers led to a change from this evil system, though not in the direction of Benedictinism. Ealdred built refectories at York and Southwell, and completed the dormitory and refectory begun by his predecessors Ælfric and Cynesige at Beverley. The canons of these minsters were, it would seem, brought under the canonical rule of Chrodegang, and lived in common. The reform was short-lived. In times after the Conquest the estates of the secular minsters were divided into prebends, each held by a canon, and sometimes descending by hereditary succession, an abuse fraught with evils.

The church of Durham.

At Durham there was much rivalry between the monks and the secular clergy of the bishop's church. Eadmund, who is said to have been an excellent bishop, though he had himself been a secular clerk before his consecration, became an ardent lover of the monastic rule, and tried with some, though only partial, success to enforce it on the secular clerks of his church. On his death, in 1040, Harthacnut sold the bishopric to one of these clerks named Eadred, who died within a year. Then the monastic party, which had gained strength under Eadmund, procured the election of Æthelric, a monk whom Eadmund had brought from Peterborough to help him in his reforms. The clerks of Durham would not acknowledge him; he appealed to Earl Siward, and the earl overawed his opponents and put him in possession of his bishopric by force. Both he and his brother Æthelwine, who succeeded him, and was also a monk, are accused of robbing their

church, but an accusation of that kind often means nothing more than that a bishop was at feud with his chapter. In spite of the efforts of the monastic party, the secular clergy remained strong at Durham until after the Conquest.

In the South, Gisa of Wells followed the example of Leofric at Exeter by introducing into his church the rule of Chrodegang, with which he had, like Leofric, been familiar in Lotharingia. The foreign system was abandoned more quickly at Wells than at Exeter, for it was completely abolished by Gisa's successor. Earl Harold, probably influenced by the bishops of German race, the friends of his house, preferred secular clergy to monks. He built a noble minster at Waltham, in honour of the Holy Cross, in place of Tofig's little church, and established a college of secular clergy there. He did not, however, make his canons live together under the rule of Chrodegang. He desired that his college should promote education, and appointed as its chancellor Adelard of Liége, a learned man, to whom he gave the care of the school. Adelard's son succeeded him as chancellor. He too was, as it happened, a man of zeal and learning. Yet his succession to his father's office suggests the evils which generally attended secular foundations. Harold's church was dedicated by Archbishop Cynesige on May 3, 1060, in the presence of the king and many great persons, clerical and lay, Stigand, as usual, being set aside. The earl's care for education is creditable to him, but, though the character of his foundation may appeal to modern taste, it was not from secular clergy that England had in time past received light and leading.

Waltham Minster.

Though Harold favoured the seculars, he was not unfair to the monks. Hermann, the Bishop of Wiltshire, discontented at having a poorly endowed bishopric and no cathedral establishment, set his heart on combining the bishopric of Sherborne with that of Wiltshire, and annexing Malmesbury Abbey in order to make it the church of his see. Such a change could not be made without the consent of the witan, and the monks of Malmesbury, fearful of losing their independence, prayed Harold to help them. The earl pleaded their cause and saved them from the bishop. Angry at the defeat of his scheme, Hermann deserted his bishopric and

Diminution of the episcopate.

became a monk of the abbey of St. Bertin. Ealdred, then Bishop of Worcester, to whom office and its emoluments could never come amiss, undertook the administration of the deserted bishopric. Hermann's monastic zeal cooled with his anger. In 1058, after he had been absent for three years, the see of Sherborne fell vacant by the death of Ælfwold, a bishop of holy and ascetic life, formerly a monk of the Old Minster under Æthelwold. Hermann returned to England, resumed charge of his diocese, obtained the see of Sherborne, and combined the two bishoprics. During the reign of the Confessor, then, the English episcopate was diminished by the suppression of two bishoprics. The bishopric of Cornwall ceased to exist, and the Wiltshire bishopric was united to that of Sherborne. After the Conquest, Hermann moved the see of his united bishoprics to "Old Sarum."

Westminster Abbey.

While Harold built a minster for secular clerks the king was engaged in building his abbey. He chose for its site an island in the Thames to the west of London, called Thorney, where there was a small and decayed monastery with only a few monks. The minster had perhaps been built in very early times, though the legends as to its foundation are worthless, and it does not appear, so far as is known, in any genuine record of historical authority before it was made the burial-place of Cnut's son Harold. His church, the West Minster, for it stood west of St. Paul's, was built after the pattern of the great churches of Normandy, in a style which was recognised as new in England. It was dedicated to St. Peter on Holy Innocents' Day, December 28, 1065, without the presence of its founder, who was then on his death-bed.

Rome and the Norman Conquest.

At Eadward's death on January 3, 1066, Harold was chosen king, and was crowned by Ealdred, for he would not render his position doubtful by accepting the ministration of the schismatic Stigand. William, Duke of the Normans, to whom his kinsman Eadward had once promised the succession, and whose claim Harold had sworn to uphold, determined to invade England, and in order to strengthen his cause laid his claim before Alexander II. The duke's ambassador no doubt urged on the pope his master's pretext, that he sought not so much his own glory as

the reformation of the English Church. He must have dwelt on the usurpation of Stigand, and probably pointed out how the Church had gone its own way with little regard to Roman authority. Alexander and his counsellor Hildebrand believed that they saw an opportunity for increasing the power of the Roman see in England, and Hildebrand accordingly supported the ambassador's arguments. The other cardinals protested that the Church ought not to encourage slaughter. Nevertheless Hildebrand's words prevailed, and the pope sent William his blessing, a ring with a relic of St. Peter, and a consecrated banner. The invasion was thus invested with something of the character of a holy war, approved by the pope as a means of bringing the English Church into more thorough dependence on the Roman see. During the few days that Harold was in London between his victory at Stamfordbridge and his march to meet the Norman invader, he visited his church at Waltham, and it was believed there that as the king prayed before the holy rood, the image of the Crucified bowed its head as though in sorrow before him. At the place of battle the Church bore its part in the struggle with the invaders. Religious houses sent their tenants to Harold's army, and some churchmen joined it in person. Leofric, the pluralist abbot, who had done more for Peterborough "than any did before or after him," was with the English army, and died either from wounds or hardships a few days after the battle; and Ælfwig, Abbot of the New Minster, the king's uncle, who came with twelve of his monks, wearing harness above their habits, was slain on the field, he and his monks with him. Englishmen first, and ecclesiastics afterwards; they will surely not be judged harshly by their fellow-countrymen for their breach of the law of the Church and their order.

Conclusion.

Ending here, with the overthrow of English independence, this book leaves the English Church in a dark and stormy day. National in name, character, and history, it was a powerful factor in the formation of the English nation. It entered into the daily lives of men and women of all classes, bringing them help, sympathy, and hope, and it bore a large share in the work of civil government and administration. Its development was remarkably independent

of Roman influence. While it regarded the Roman see with gratitude and reverence, it seldom either sought, or accepted, guidance from Rome. Twice only since the coming of Theodore had legates interfered in its affairs; the papal decrees in Wilfrith's case were held of small account; a papal sentence was, we are told, summarily set aside by so eminent a churchman as Dunstan. It chose as saints English men and women, and appointed the services by which they were to be commemorated. Though at certain periods of its history it gave spiritual light and intellectual guidance to continental peoples, and in its turn received help from abroad, it had, like the nation, some insularity of character. Yet, on the whole, this was no great drawback to its progress. If its clergy might sometimes have been roused to more energy, or have learned a higher standard of life, by closer relations with other churches, there were times also when it would have lost much by following their lead.

Its peculiarly intimate union with the State during the period which succeeded the Danish invasions of the ninth century did it some damage; it weakened its spiritual life, tended to make its ministers worldly, and finally caused it to share in the national exhaustion and decline of the last years of the native monarchy. On the other hand, this union strengthened its hold on the national life and the affections of the people. The disaster of St. Calixtus's Day gave Church and State into the hands of the Conqueror. Was that disaster to destroy the national character of either Church or State? It was to be far otherwise. Both alike had to pass through a period of discipline, but from that discipline both alike were to gain new energy and become capable of a more spacious life. Through the darkest days of their trial the Church played a part worthy of its national character; it formed a bond of union between the conquerors and the conquered, and kept alive the spirit of the nation until the time came that the conquerors called themselves by no other name than Englishmen, and were proud of their share in the heritage of the English people and the English Church.

AUTHORITIES.—The chief general authorities are the *Sax. Chronicle*, Florence of Worcester's *Chronicle*, William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum*

and *Gesta Pontificum*, and Thorpe's *Ancient Laws*. For Cnut and the Church, see Kemble's *Codex Dipl.*, *Historia Ramesiensis*, *Historia Eliensis*, ed. Stewart, Anglia Christiana series, London, 1848, and Bp. Stubbs's *Select Charters*, ed. 1884. Notices of English ecclesiastics in Scandinavian countries are in Adam of Bremen's *Gesta Hammaburg. Eccl. Pont.*, ap. Pertz, *Mon. Germ. SS.* vii. References to Cnut's pilgrimage are in the *Encomium Emmæ*, ap. Duchesne, *Hist. Norm. SS.*, Paris, 1619, and Wipo's *Vita Chuonradi*, ap. Pertz, *Mon. Germ. SS.* xi.; his letter is given by Florence. An excellent account of the king's clerks and chapel is in Green's *Conquest of England*. For the reign of the Confessor see *Lives of Edward the Confessor*, Rolls ser.; the more important prose *Vita* is by a strong adherent of the house of Godwine, and must be read accordingly. For the Church in the North, see Symeon of Durham, *Hist. Dunelm. Eccl.* and *Chronicle of the Archbishops*, in *Historians of York*, ii. The Waltham history is in *De Inventione Crucis*, ed. Bp. Stubbs, Oxford, 1861. For the Norman embassy to the pope, see, besides Will. of Malmesbury, Orderic's *Historia Eccles.*, ed. Prevost, Société de l'Histoire de France, 1852; *Monumenta Gregoriana*, ed. Jaffé, Berlin, 1865; William of Poitiers, *Gesta Willelmi Conq.*, ed. Giles, London, 1845, and Wace's *Roman de Rou*, ed. Pluquet, Rouen, 1827. For a sketch of the Church on the eve of the Conquest and in its relations to the nation, see Bp. Stubbs's *Const. History*. The best modern authority for the general history of the period is Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, i. ii. and iii., where the characters of Godwine and his adherents are represented in a more favourable light than in this chapter. This is due partly to a difference in point of view. With Freeman, support of the national cause raises a man at once to a high place; here a man's conduct in religious or ecclesiastical matters is necessarily the side on which most stress is laid. The estimate of the men of the time given in Green's *Conquest of England* seems on the whole sounder than Freeman's, though perhaps going too far in the opposite direction.

APPENDIX I

SOME PRINCIPAL EVENTS

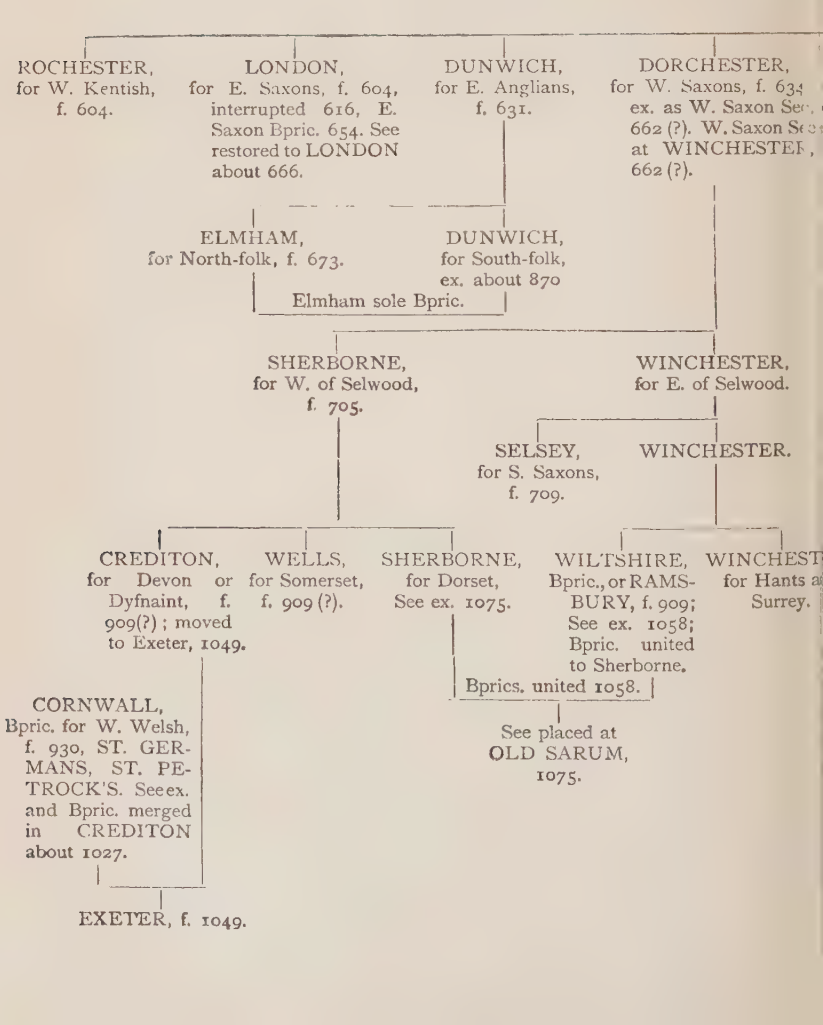
	A.D.
Landing and consecration of Augustine	597
Mellitus driven from London; Eadbald of Kent baptized	616
Baptism of Eadwine of Northumbria	627
Mission of Felix in East Anglia	631
Battle of Hatfield; death of Eadwine	633
Mission of Birinus in Wessex	634
Mission of Aidan; baptism of Cynegils of Wessex	635
Death of Aidan	651
Evangelisation of the Mercians	656
Conference at Whitby; plague breaks out	664
Landing of Archbishop Theodore	669
Synod of Hertford; birth of Bede	673
Wilfrith's first appeal to Rome	678
Subdivision of the Mercian bishopric	about 679
Synod of Hatfield; imprisonment of Wilfrith	680
Evangelisation of the South Saxons by Wilfrith	681
Death of Cuthbert	687
Death of Archbishop Theodore; Willibrord's mission to Frisia	690
Council on the Nidd; division of West Saxon bishopric; Ealdhelm consecrated Bishop of Sherborne	705
Death of Wilfrith; South Saxon bishopric founded	709
Bishop Ecgbert of York receives a pall; death of Bede	735
Council of Clovesho for reform	747
Martyrdom of St. Boniface, Archbishop of Mainz	755
Legatine Synod at Chelsea; archbishopric of Lichfield created	787
Restoration of the rights of Canterbury; accession of Ecgbert	802
Agreement at Kingston	838
Pilgrimage of King Æthelwulf	855
Martyrdom of Eadmund of East Anglia	870
Accession of Alfred; Danes attack Wessex	871
Bishop Eardulf leaves Lindisfarne; wanderings of St. Cuthbert begin	875
Battle of Ethandun; baptism of Guthorm	878
Bernician see placed at Chester-le-Street	883
Increase of the West Saxon episcopate	909
Dunstan receives charge of Glastonbury; monastic revival	(?) 943

	A.D.
Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury	960
Æthelwold consecrated to Winchester; Benedictine reform begins	963
Death of Eadgar; anti-monastic movement	975
Death of Archbishop Dunstan	988
Confirmation of Olaf of Norway	991
Bernician see fixed at Durham	995
Martyrdom of Archbishop Ælfheah (St. Elphege)	1012
Pilgrimage of Cnut	1027
Death of Cnut; period of manifest decline begins	1035
Robert of Jumièges, Archbishop of Canterbury	1051
Expulsion of Archbishop Robert; Stigand schismatical archbishop	1052
Legatine visit; Wulfstan consecrated to Worcester	1062
Dedication of Westminster Abbey; death of Eadward the Confessor	1065
Battle of Hastings	1066

APP

ENGLISH BISHOP

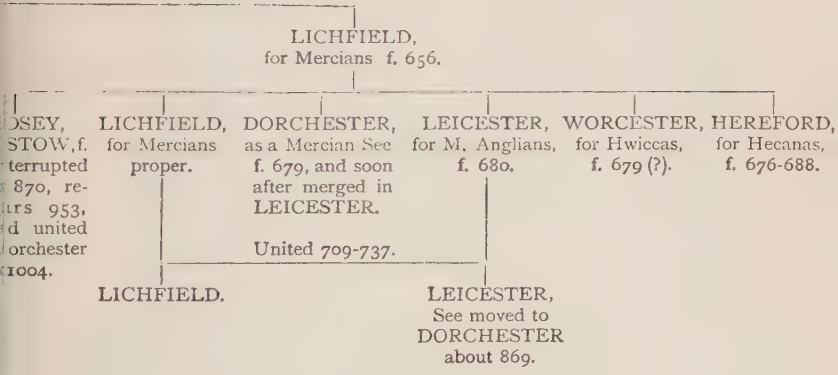
CANTE

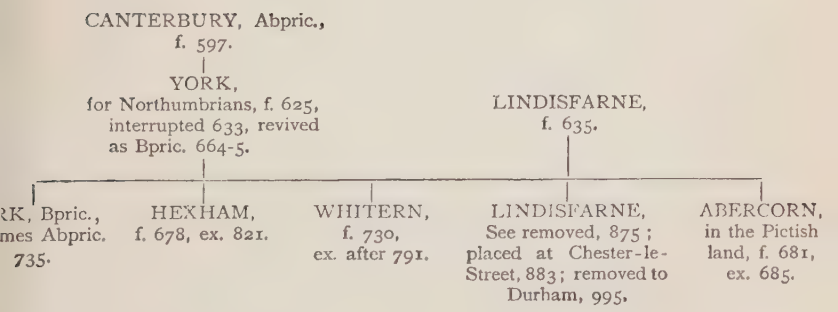

ROCHESTER, for W. Kentish, f. 604.
LONDON, for E. Saxons, f. 604, interrupted 616, E. Saxon Bpric. 654. See restored to LONDON about 666.
DUNWICH, for E. Anglians, f. 631.
DORCHESTER, for W. Saxons, f. 634 ex. as W. Saxon Sec. 662 (?). W. Saxon Se at WINCHESTER, 662 (?).
ELMHAM, for North-folk, f. 673.
DUNWICH, for South-folk, ex. about 870
Elmham sole Bpric.
SHERBORNE, for W. of Selwood, f. 705.
WINCHESTER, for E. of Selwood.
SELSEY, for S. Saxons, f. 709.
WINCHESTER.
CREDITON, for Devon or Dyfnaint, f. 909(?); moved to Exeter, 1049.
WELLS, for Somerset, f. 909 (?).
SHERBORNE, for Dorset, See ex. 1075.
WILTSHIRE, Bpric., or RAMSBURY, f. 909; See ex. 1058; Bpric. united to Sherborne.
WINCHEST for Hants a Surrey.
Bprics. united 1058.
See placed at OLD SARUM, 1075.
CORNWALL, Bpric. for W. Welsh, f. 930, ST. GERMANS, ST. PETROCK'S. See ex. and Bpric. merged in CREDITON about 1027.
EXETER, f. 1049.

ND SEES, 597-1066.

f. = founded.
ex. = extinct.
The dates are in some cases merely approximate.

Abpric.,


LICHFIELD, for Mercians f. 656.
DSEY, STOW, f. terrupted 870, re- urs 953, d united orchester 1004.
LICHFIELD, for Mercians proper.
DORCHESTER, as a Mercian See f. 679, and soon after merged in LEICESTER.
United 709-737.
LEICESTER, for M. Anglians, f. 680.
WORCESTER, for Hwiccas, f. 679 (?).
HEREFORD, for Hecanas, f. 676-688.
LICHFIELD.
LEICESTER, See moved to DORCHESTER about 869.


CANTERBURY, Abpric., f. 597.
YORK, for Northumbrians, f. 625, interrupted 633, revived as Bpric. 664-5.
LINDISFARNE, f. 635.
RK, Bpric., mes Abpric. 735.
HEXHAM, f. 678, ex. 821.
WHITERN, f. 730, ex. after 791.
LINDISFARNE, See removed, 875; placed at Chester-le-Street, 883; removed to Durham, 995.
ABERCORN, in the Pictish land, f. 681, ex. 685.

APPENDIX III

LIST OF

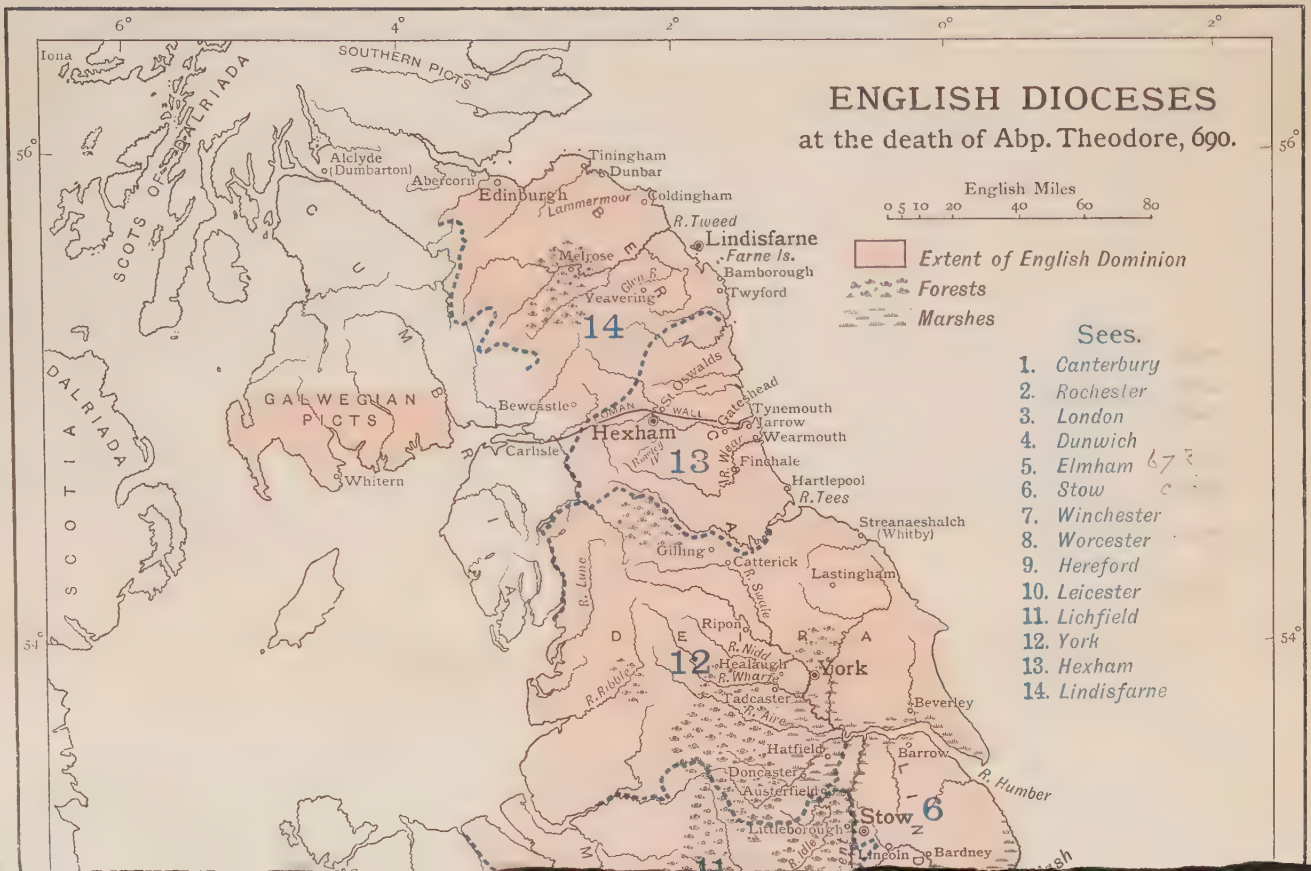
ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY & BISHOPS AND ARCHBISHOPS OF YORK

597-1066.

	Succ. to See.	Vacates.		Succ. to See.	Vacates.
Augustine	597	*d.* 604			
Laurentius	604	*d.* 619			
Mellitus	619	*d.* 624			
Justus	624	*d.* 627	Paulinus	625	*res.* 633
Honorius	627	*d.* 653			
Deusdedit	655	*d.* 664	Wilfrith I.	664	*ex.* 678
Theodore	668	*d.* 690	Ceadda	666	*dep.* 669
Berctwald	693	*d.* 731	Bosa	678	*d.* 705
Tatwine	731	*d.* 734	John of Beverley	705	*res.* 718
			Wilfrith II.	718	*d.* 732
			Archbishops.		
Nothelm	735	*d.* 740	Ecgbert, recd. pall 735	734	*res.* 766
Cuthbert	740	*d.* 758			
Bregwine	759	*d.* 765			
Jaenbert	766	*d.* 790	Æthelbert	767	*d.* 780
			Eanbald I.	780	*d.* 796
Æthelheard	793	*d.* 805	Eanbald II.	796	
Wulfred	805	*d.* 832	Wulfsige		
Feologeld	832	*d.* 832			
Ceolnoth	833	*d.* 870	Wigmund	837	
Æthelred	870	*d.* 889	Wulfhere	854	*d.* 900
Plegmund	890	*d.* 914	Æthelbald	900	
Athelm	914	*d.* 923			
Wulfhelm	923	*d.* 942	Rodewald		*d.* 930?
Oda	942	*d.* 958	Wulfstan	931	*dep.* 954

CANTERBURY.	Succ. to See.	Vacates.
Ælfsige	958?	*d.* 959?
Dunstan	960	*d.* 988
Æthelgar	988	*d.* 990
Sigeric	990	*d.* 994
Ælfric	995	*d.* 1005
Ælfheah (St. Elphege)	1005	*d.* 1012
Lifing	1013	*d.* 1020
Æthelnoth	1020	*d.* 1038
Eadsige	1038	*d.* 1050
Robert of Jumièges	1051	*d.* 1070
Stigand, schismatical	1052	*dep.* 1070

YORK.	Succ. to See.	Vacates.
Oscytel		*d.* 971
Oswald	972	*d.* 992
Ealdwulf	995	*d.* 1002
Wulfstan II.	1003	*d.* 1023
Ælfric	1023	*d.* 1051
Cynesige	1051	*d.* 1060
Ealdred	1061	*d.* 1069


ENGLISH DIOCESES
at the death of Abp. Theodore, 690.
English Miles
0 5 10 20 40 60 80
Extent of English Dominion
Forests
Marshes
Sees.
1. Canterbury
2. Rochester
3. London
4. Dunwich
5. Elmham
6. Stow
7. Winchester
8. Worcester
9. Hereford
10. Leicester
11. Lichfield
12. York
13. Hexham
14. Lindisfarne
6°
4°
2°
0°
2°
56°
54°
Iona
SOUTHERN PICTS
SCOTS OF DALRIADA
Alclyde (Dumbarton)
Abercorn
Edinburgh
Tiningham
Dunbar
Coldingham
Lammermoor
R. Tweed
Lindisfarne
Farne Is.
Bamborough
Twyford
Melrose
Yeavering
Glen R.
14
St. Oswalds
Bewcastle
ROMAN WALL
Hexham
Tynemouth
Jarrow
Wearmouth
Finchale
Hartlepool
R. Tees
Streanaeshalch (Whitby)
Carlisle
Whitern
GALWEGIAN PICTS
13
Gilling
Catterick
Lastingham
R. Lune
Ripon
R. Nidd
Healaugh
R. Wharfe
York
12
R. Ribble
Tadcaster
R. Aire
Beverley
Hatfield
Barrow
R. Humber
Doncaster
Austerfield
Stow
6
Littleborough
Lincoln
Bardney
11

Walker & Cockerell sc.

History of English Church—Vol. I.

ENGLISH DIOCESES
in 1066.
English Miles
0 5 10 20 30 40 50 60
Extent of English Dominion
Present boundaries of Counties
Dioceses.
1. Canterbury
2. Rochester
3. London
4. Elmham
5. Selsey
6. Winchester
7. Sherborne
8. Exeter
9. Wells
10. Worcester
11. Dorchester
12. Hereford
13. Lichfield
14. York
15. Durham
6°
4°
2°
0°
54°
Lindisfarne
Melrose
Jedburgh
R. Tweed
R. Coquet
15
Tynemouth
R. Tyne
Hexham
Carlisle
R. Eden
Chester le Street
R. Wear
Durham
Escomb
R. Tees
Sockburn
R. Ribble
R. Lune
Ripon
14
R. Wharfe
York
R. Aire
R. Ouse
Beverley
Barton
R. Don
R. Trent
11
Lincoln
R. Mersey
Chester
R. Weever
18
Bangor
R. Dee
Southwell
R. Trent
Repton
Burton
Shrewsbury
St. Benet at Holm
Elmham

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